AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

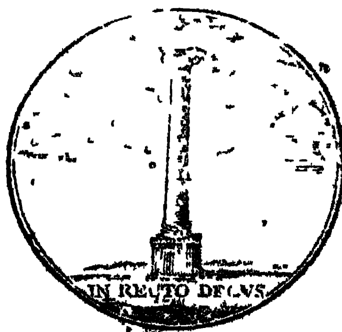
AND

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξ χειρὸς μὴ καταλίπῃς· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

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MDCCLXXXI.

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OF THE

EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

The History of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls.

SECT. I.

The Antiquity, Power, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Language, Learning, and Disposition, of the ancient Turks, Tartars, and Moguls.

THE Tartars were at first called Tatars, a name they deduced from their great ancestor Tatar Khân, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak. The Moguls received their denomination from Mogul, Mogol, or, according to some, Mung'l, brother to Tatar Khân. These princes founded two puissant empires in the East, which afterwards uniting, became a terror to all their neighbours. It has been observed, that the Tartars, settled both in Europe and Asia, still retain, as they have always done, among the neighbouring nations, their original appellation of Tatars*.

The Tartars deduced the name of Tatars from Tatar Khân.

That the Moguls and Tartars were the descendents of Japhet, the eldest son of Noah, is almost universally agreed. The most learned and judicious writers of all nations, who

The Moguls and Tartars descended from Japhet.

* Abu'l Ghâzi Bahadur Khân's Genealogic Hist. of the Tatars, part i. chap. 3. and part ii. chap. 2. Mirkhond, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 597. 875.

have had a taste for Oriental literature, have assented to this notion; and the Tartars themselves are fully persuaded of the truth of it. The progeny of Magog, Meshech, and Tubal, planted both the Scythias, and consequently the country of the ancient Moguls and Tartars. Some traces of Magog appear in the word Mogli, the old name of the Muscovites and Tartars, which seems only a corruption or abbreviation of Magogli, the sons of Magog. The posterity of Meshech and Tubal we find denominated Moschi and Tibareni by Herodotus, who joins them together in the same manner that Moses and Ezekiel join Meshech and Tubal. The strict union and perfect harmony that reigned between them evidently appears from the former author, when he informs us, that they were armed in the same manner, and commanded by the same general, Ariomardus. As the Turks and Tartars were originally the same people, whatever is advanced concerning the first progenitors and early antiquities of the one, must be allowed to be, with the utmost propriety, applicable to those of the other[b].

We may form some notion of the power of this nation from the military atchievements of the ancient Scythians, as well as from the vast tract they inhabited. With regard to the latter, if the ancients are to be depended upon, it was most extensive and prodigious. But its limits we have already defined in a former part of this work, and shall consider them more minutely hereafter; so that there is no reason for us to be very particular on this head here. In general, however, it may be observed, that the people in view are supposed to have spread themselves at least over the two Scythias, the European and Asiatic Sarmatia, which some affirm to have appertained to the former countries, and Iberia. This very considerable part of the globe seems to have comprehended most of the Russian empire, Great and Little Tartary, Georgia, the Polish and Muscovian Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, many provinces of Hungary and Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, besides some part at least of Finland, Lapland, and Sweden. The three last countries were very thinly, if at all, peopled, before the extinction of the Roman republic[c].

But, though several of the ancients seem to have applied the name of Scythia to all those immense regions extending from the Hyperborean ocean, the sources of the Ister, the

[b] Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah in Raoudhat Alsafa, vol. v. Khondemir in Khilassat Alakhbar. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 897, & alib. Abu'l Ghâzi Bahadur Khân, ubi supra, par. i. cap. 2.
[c] The. Sig. Bayer de Origin. Scythar. in Comment. Acad. Imperial. Petropolitan. tom. i. Petropoli, 1728.

Vistula,

Viſtula, the Baltic, Euxine, and Caſpian ſeas, to the fartheſt extremity of the Eaſt, known in their days, yet the proper or original Scythia was probably confined within much narrower bounds. For, when Darius Hyſtaſpis undertook an expedition againſt the Scythians, about 514 years before the birth of Chriſt, their ancient dominions ſcarce exceeded the tract limited on the eaſt by the Tanais, and on the weſt by the Boryſthenes; though ſome of their colonies had paſſed the latter river, and advanced almoſt to the ſource of the Tyras. This may very juſtly be inferred from Herodotus, as has been obſerved by M. Bayer. Nay, that the Scythian territories were bounded even on the weſt by the Volga, called the Araxes by Onomacritus, Ariſtotle, and other Greek writers, in the reign of Phraortes king of Media, has been rendered extremely probable by that ingenious author. Before that time, the Cimmerians were undoubtedly ſeparated from the Scythians by the Araxes, the Rha, or according to the modern appellation the Volga; for that theſe names denoted the ſame river, after what has been advanced by M. Bayer, will admit of no diſpute. But then the Scythians, under the conduct of their king Madyes, ſeized upon the country before occupied by the Cimmerians, and purſued that nation into the Upper Aſia, as from Herodotus will more fully appear.

It may be looked upon as highly probable, that both the preſent Turks and Tartars are deſcended from the Scythians of Ariſteas Proconneſius, and the Scythian Nomades of Herodotus. Now, upon this ſuppoſition, the ancient Turks or Tartars can neither be conſidered as one of the earlieſt nations of antiquity, nor as occupying a tract for many ages of very conſiderable extent. For they ſcarce made any figure at all before the reign of Cyaxares king of the Medes, or the time of Ogus Khân, about 637 years before the birth of Chriſt, when they drove the Cimmerians from their territories bordering upon the Palus Mæotis into the Upper Aſia. Nor could their primitive ſeat, upon the eaſtern bank of the Volga or Araxes, at that time have beeen very ſpacious or extenſive; ſince it is well known, that they were then a people of little note, and in the vicinity of ſome nations who were puſhing for unlimited empire. Nay, Scythia lay only between the 45th and 57th degrees of longitude, and the 47th and 55th degrees of north latitude, in the time of Herodotus. So that the Scythians can by no means be conſidered as a very formidable power, even when Herodotus firſt obliged the world with his hiſtory [d].

[d] Ariſteas Proconneſius apud Herodot. lib. iv. ut & ipſe Herodot. ibid. Th. Sig. Bayer, ubi ſupra, & in Chronolog. Scythic. p. 302. Petropoli, 1732.

We are told by that historian, that the first Scythian king did not live, at farthest, above a thousand years before Darius Hystaspis invaded Scythia, in the year before Christ 514. Now, considering that not only the Greeks, but all other ancient nations, placed events of remote antiquity too high, as has been demonstrated by Sir Isaac Newton, we may fairly suppose the first Scythian prince not to have preceded Darius Hystaspis above eight hundred years. And, as no considerable number of men could possibly have subsisted long together, without being formed into a regular society, and appointing some person or persons to preside over them, we may from hence presume, that the countries bordering upon the Palus Mæotis, as well as the Euxine and Caspian seas, were very thinly peopled one thousand three hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra.

The Tartars in general at this day live in much the same manner as did their progenitors the ancient Scythians and Sarmatians: they rove about in hordes from one fruitful spot to another, without villages, towns, or any fixed habitations. This must be understood of the bulk of them; for some cantons, or tribes of the Tartars, are not destitute of towns, nor even considerable cities, such as, Caffa, Perecop, Oczakow, Otrar or Farab, Taraz, and Samarkand. Nor was such a roving disposition at first confined to the Tartars or Scythians; the descendents of Gomer, for many ages, passed their days, as we have great reason to believe, in the same manner.

Turk the great ancestor of the Turks, Tartars, &c.

Notwithstanding the Tartars derive their name from Tatar Khân, yet they will not allow this to have been their primitive appellation. They pretend to be descended from Turk, the eldest son of Japhet, whom they call Japhis. Turk, according to them, was appointed by Japhis to be the sovereign head of his family, to which indeed he had a claim by the right of primogeniture. The Tartars, therefore, look upon themselves to be of a more noble extraction than the neighbouring people, whom they consider as descended from the other sons of Japhis. In consequence of this notion, they affirm themselves first to have gone under the appellation of Turks, which they derived from their great ancestor just mentioned. This name they seem to have retained till the time of Jenghiz Khân. But that prince having reduced all the tribes bearing the name of Turks under his obedience, they, with regard to their neighbours, gradually lost it, and were by them afterwards called Tatars. We say with regard to their neighbours, since the largest part of them have always denominated themselves Turks; nor do they allow, that any nation

nation but themselves have the least title to that denomination[e].

The name of Tatars was at first probably applied to one particular tribe or hord of the Turkish nation, whose members seem to have been more considerable, warlike, and better known to the Asiatics, on account of their military exploits, than the rest, till the time of Jenghiz Khân. This was succeeded by that of Moguls, which prevailed but so long as the dominion of the people so called lasted over the southern provinces of Asia; when that expired, the former appellation took place again. It is observable, that Sharif al Edrisi, commonly called the Nubian geographer, makes no mention either of Moguls or Tartars; but intimates, that all the country at present going under the denomination of Eastern and Western Tartary, were peopled by different cantons of Turks. This is the more remarkable, as that author wrote but a little before the reign of Jenghiz Khân, about the year of Christ 1170. However, we hear of Tartars in other parts, as will be more particularly observed when, when we come to the modern history of that nation [f].

With regard to the government of the ancient Tartars, we must suppose it to have been the same, or nearly so, with that of the Scythians already described. It appears from Herodotus, that, in his days, the two principal tribes of the Scythians were under monarchical government; and that they had a great influence upon, if they did not absolutely govern, all the other tribes. This is perfectly agreeable to what we find advanced by the Tartar historian, who informs us, that Alanza Khân had twin-sons, the one called Tatar and the other Mogul, between whom, when his end approached, he divided his dominions. The regal families founded by these two khâns, according to the same author, ruled the ancient Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, for several generations; and at length formed a powerful and extensive empire. This testimony adds some weight to the authority of Herodotus, and is itself likewise supported, in the point before us, by that excellent historian [g]. *Government.*

As the Tartarian or Scythian Nomades, as far as can be collected from the ancients, greatly resembled the Numidians and Scenite Arabs in their form of government, their

[e] Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah & Khondemir, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth Orient. ubi sup. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's Genealogic. Hist. of the Tat. vol. i. part i. chap. 2. See also vol. ii. sect. 2. [f] Sharif Al Edrisi, Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi sup. vol. ii. sect. 2. [g] Herodot. lib. iv. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi supra, vol. i. part i. chap. 3, &c.

civil and political institutions, we need not expatiate upon this topic here. After this observation, our readers will naturally suppose, that the Tartarean khans were originally vested with an authority similar to that of the Numidian phylarchs, and Arab emirs. This seems likewise to be confirmed by Herodotus, and by what we have laid down in the history of the Scythians. From hence it appears, that seven or eight Scythian cantons were governed by their respective princes, or khâns, before the time of Darius Hystaspis; and consequently that they had either always asserted their independency, or shaken off the yoke of the royal Scythians before that prince's accession to the Persian throne. Since, therefore, Darius Hystaspis entered upon his reign after the declension of the monarchy, or monarchies, erected by the twin-brothers Tatar Khân and Mogul Khân, those princes undoubtedly flourished a considerable time before the foundation of the Persian empire, though the particular age in which they lived we cannot, with any tolerable degree of precision, pretend to ascertain.

Laws. Some of the principal customs prevailing among the Scythians, or ancient Tartars, not hitherto mentioned, that had the appearance of laws, our readers will not be displeased to find here. 1. The Scythian kings were obliged to take all possible care of a golden plough, yoke, ax, and bowl, that fell down from heaven into Scythia in the reign of Lipoxais, Apoxais, and Colaxais, the sons of Targitaus, the first king of Scythia. 2. The Scythian princes, by virtue of their office, assisted annually at the magnificent sacrifices offered to those holy instruments, which their subjects doubtless considered in the same light that other Sabians did their images, or even the celestial bodies themselves. 3. The Argippæans were looked upon as sacred by all the other Scythians; so that whoever fled into their territories, though on account of some enormous crime, was allowed to live under their protection. 4. The differences that arose among the other Scythian cantons were, for the most part, referred to the arbitration of this people, who were so mild and pacific, that they had no arms of any kind among them. 5. It was a political maxim in Scythia not to permit any foreigner, who retired thither, to return to his native country. 6. The Agathyrsians, a luxurious nation abounding in gold, had their women in common; which they imagined would promote concord, unanimity, and mutual benevolence, among them. There were probably other customs in Scythia that had the force of laws, which we may possibly take notice of, when we come to the

the modern history of the Russians, Tartars, Kalmucks, and Chinese [h].

Religion. It has been already observed, that the ancestors of the Tartars were immersed in idolatry, and that they worshipped some of the principal Greek and Roman deities. To Hercules, likewise, in common with the Greeks, Romans, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, they paid divine honours. As they were nearly related to the Germans, they seem to have carried about with them, in their covered waggons, those small images representing certain gods held in great veneration by that people. The celebrated deity Zamolxis was probably worshipped by the Scythians, or ancient Tartars, as well as the Thracians, on account of the salutary laws he enacted. The hideous idols, that serve at present for objects of adoration to some of the pagan Tartars and Chinese, seem to have been deduced from the monstrous hieroglyphic figures by which the ancient Egyptians represented their false deities. Nor are those of the Indians and Japanese to be derived from a different source.

Customs. To the customs of the people under consideration, touched upon in the history of the Scythians, it may not be amiss to add the following. 1. When the Scythians caroused, they sounded the strings of their bows, in order to rouse their minds, and prevent them from being dissolved in debauchery. 2. If the person who guarded the holy golden instruments above mentioned, which the regal Scythians considered as their palladium, happened to fall asleep upon the grand festival in the open air, his death was expected soon; and therefore he had a present made him of as much land as he could traverse on horseback in a day. 3. The Issedonians, Arimaspians, and other neighbouring cantons, were perpetually committing hostilities in each other's dominions. 4. The Callipedes and Alazons lived upon wheat, onions, garlick, lentils, and millet, in which they differed from the neighbouring Scythian tribes. 5. Some cantons occupying a tract to the east of the Borysthenes, applied themselves to agriculture; but behind them, in an eastern direction, lay others whose sole employ consisted in taking care of their flocks. 6. The royal Scythians, whose territories were separated from those of the last mentioned tribes by the river Gerrhus, looked upon all their neighbours as slaves, and seem to have exercised, at least for several ages, a sort of sovereign authority over them. 7. The Thyssagetes and Jyrcians spent their time in hunting, and lived entirely upon venison: the latter, at-

[h] Herodot. ubi sup. Strab. pass.

tended by dogs and horses trained up for that purpose, having discovered their game from a tree, let fly their arrows at them, and then pursued the chace. 8. The Argippæans used for food the fruit of a tree called ponticon, not unlike a bean: out of this they squeezed a thick blackish liquor, going among them under the name of aschy, which they drank mixed with milk, at the same time making a sort of cakes of the more solid part. 9. The Argippæans slept in winter under trees, covered with a strong white cloth, and, in summer, under those trees without any covering at all. 10. The ancestors of the Tartars had such an aversion to swine, that they would permit none to be produced among them. 11. Though the greatest part of the Scythians contemned every species of wealth, yet the Agathyrsians were a luxurious tribe, and had their garments richly adorned with gold. 12. The Androphagi and Melanchlænians were a sort of Scythians that fed upon human flesh; the former being perfect savages so late as the age of Herodotus, and the latter deducing their name from the black colour of the cloaths they always wore. 13. The Budians, a large and populous nation, according to that author, lived almost upon a fish called by the Greeks φθεὶρ, which we apprehend to be the pediculus of Gaza. 14. Some of the Massagetes clothed themselves with the skins of sea-calves, and others with the bark of trees. 15. The Scythians generally castrated their horses, that they might manage them with the greater ease. For though these beasts were small, yet they were exceeding headstrong, and full of fire. 16. The ancient Tartars frequently hunted stags and wild boars in the marshy grounds; but goats and wild asses in the spacious and open plains. 17. In their wars, they, for the most part, preferred the use of mares to that of horses; the former not being obliged to stand still when they urined, as we learn from Pliny and Solinus. 18. They sometimes, in an engagement, held their bows in their right hands, and sometimes in their left; and could discharge their arrows upon the enemy, either facing them, or flying from them. 19. When they found themselves obliged to sustain hunger for some time, they tied broad girdles round their waists, believing that this rendered fasting less disagreeable to them. 20. The Scythian Nomades, inhabiting the tract between the Tanais and the Borysthenes, lived for the most part in waggons, the lesser sort of which had four wheels, and the larger six. These contained within them houses made of clay, some of which had one, and others three little rooms, that were occupied chiefly by women, the men riding generally on horseback. The smaller waggons were drawn by

four

four oxen, and the larger by six. 21. Many of the lower sort of Scythians lived upon horse-flesh and mares-milk, as do at present a great part of the vulgar among the Tartars. And that the Moguls used this sort of diet in the time of Ogus Khan, we learn from the Tartar historian. 22. Many of the Scythians so enervated themselves by being perpetually on horseback, that they were incapable of propagating their species; and, when this happened, they put on the female habit. 23. Those persons who had lost their manhood, most of whom were of the higher rank, were greatly reverenced by the common people, and acquired great wealth by their predictions. 24. The Scythians that were almost constantly on horseback wore breeches that reached down to their ancles, as many of the Turks and Tartars do at present; and shoes made of the sappy part, or interior bark of trees: which sort of shoes are still used by the Russians and Lithuanians. 25. Drunkenness was a very fashionable vice among them, according to the Greek writers. And the Persians gave them, from that vice, the name of Sacæ, or Sakai, which in Persic signified *a glutton* and *a drunkard*. 26. They wore exceeding long hair, which Aristotle ascribes to the moisture of their climate; but Lucian thinks, that they considered such hair as an ornament. 27. Some of the Scythian hords, or cantons, had houses, and even towns, consisting entirely of wood. This custom has prevailed among the Russians, of which the city of Moscow, their metropolis, is a flagrant instance, and several of the Tartarian nations inhabiting the northern parts of Asia, even to this day [i].

Language. The language of Scythia, or ancient Tartary, taken in its most extensive acceptation, must have been split into a great variety of dialects. Herodotus informs us, that the tract between the country of the Argippæans and the Borysthenes, a small part of Tartary only, was inhabited by people that spoke seven different languages; and that the Argippæans had another also peculiar to themselves. Hence we may imagine, that there must have been a prodigious number of such dialects spoken in so large a part of the habitable world as we are at present considering. That there was a great affinity between the ancient Turkish, Tartarian, and

[i] Herodot. ubi supra, & alib. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 2. lib. viii. cap. 42. & alib. pass. Plutarch. Conjugal. Præcept. vol. ii. p. 133. in Apophthegm. vol. ii. p. 174. Plat. de Legib. lib. vii. p. 571. Ed. Henrici Petri & alib. Ælius Dionysius apud Eustath. lib. c. p. 916. Grotii Excerpt. ex Tragœdiis & Comœdiis Græc. p. 642. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's Genealogic. Hist. of the Tat. part ii. chap. 2, 3.

Gothic

Gothic languages, has been evinced by M. Strahlenberg; and that these all, as to their first and original words, agreed very well with the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic tongues, or rather were deducible from them, has been rendered extremely probable by the same ingenious author. Olaus Rudbeckius, Philippus Massonius, and Ludovicus Thomassinus, have also set this point in the clearest light. Nothing can be a fuller demonstration of the truth of this opinion, than the surprising resemblance many of the Gothic and Tartarian primitive roots, which were used before any grammars, or artificial refinements of language, appeared in the world, bear to the corresponding terms in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic tongues [k].

Letters. Whether or no the ancient Tartars had any alphabetic characters in use among them, we shall not take upon us to determine, as both sides of the question have been espoused by the learned. But we cannot help thinking, that those are in the right, who have endeavoured to maintain the affirmative. For that such characters were used among the Scythians in very early times, has not only been rendered probable by Franciscus Foris Otrokocsi, but also by a very ancient tradition still prevailing among the Hungarians, according to Joannes Tsetsius. And we have this very Scythian alphabet exhibited to us by the famous Matthias Belius, who has taken great pains, not without success, to demonstrate the antiquity of it. To omit other arguments that occur, its letters were drawn from the right hand to the left, after the Oriental manner; which will not a little prejudice all the learned part of our readers in favour of what has been advanced by Tsetsius and Otrokocsi. Even some manuscripts written in the old Hunno-Scythian character are said to be still preserved by the Szekelyi, or original Scythians of Transylvania. That the ancient Scythians, or Tartars (H), had also a symbolic or hieroglyphic

[k] M. Von Strahlenberg's Introduct. sect. 4. p. 59—73. Ola. Rudbeck. Ichthyolog. Biblic. par. prim. de Ave Selau, &c. Upsalis, 1705. Ludovic. Thomassin. Glossar. Univers. Hebr. Paris. 1697.

(H) This seems farther to appear from the hieroglyphic characters found near the source of the river Irbyth, which have been copied by M. Von Strahlenberg. The Irbyth is a little river, near a small town in Siberia of the same name, which discharges itself into the Nytza, as that does into the Tura, between the cities of Japantzin and Tumen. Such characters are also found in other parts of Siberia, particularly near the river Pyschma; but we remember not to have seen any of them yet explained by the learned.

character,

character, may be inferred from Clemens Alexandrinus and Herodotus. This may be collected from a Hunno-Scythian manuscript still extant at Florence, according to Zamoscius. For a full and ample account of the origin, antiquity, nature, powers, and forms of all the alphabetic characters used at present by the principal Tartarian nations, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the learned M. Bayer, whose labours on this head can never meet with too great applause. It seems probable from Herodotus, that neither the Scythians, nor the Thracians, were unacquainted with the Assyrian letters; as also that the old Persic language was nearly allied to, if it was not entirely the same with the Assyrian[1].

Few of the Tartars or Moguls cultivated any branch of literature before the reign of Jenghiz Khân; but after that period several Tartars made a considerable figure in the learned world. However, we are not to suppose that all the ancient Scythians were totally void of science. That they had some knowlege of the medicinal virtues of plants, appears from Pliny. Anacharsis, Abaris, and other native Scythians, were famous, even among the Greeks themselves, for their temperance, justice, wisdom, and profound erudition. Nor were they wholly unacquainted with the nature of poisons, as may be inferred both from Aristotle and Pliny: the former, as well as the latter of those authors, informs us, that they dipped their arrows in a poison prepared for that purpose, which infallibly proved mortal. This poison was a composition prepared in the following manner: the Scythians took several female vipers, when bringing forth their young, killed them, and let their bodies corrupt for several days. Then they put a certain quantity of human blood into a pot, and buried it in a dunghill for some time; afterwards, when this was reduced to a proper state of corruption, they took off the watery or serous part, and mixed it with the liquor drawn from the putrefied carcases of the vipers. Whence the knowlege of this virulent poison came to them, we are not informed; but they probably received it from the Indian Brahmans. The Scythians, according to Pliny, were likewise supplied with an antidote against the venom or poison *Learning.*

[1] Francisc. Foris Otrokocsi Origin. Hungar. p. 1. cap. 7. et alib. Jo. Tsetsius de Rect. Hungaricè scribendi & loquendi Rat. p. 1. s. 2. Mat. Belius de Vet. Lit. Hunno-Scythic. sect. 2. p. 24, 30. Lipsiæ, 1718. Zamoscius apud Matthiam Belium ubi supra, p. 59, 60, 61. ut & ipse Matthias Belius, ibid. Th. Sig. Bayer, Element. Literatur. Brahmanic. Tangutan. Mungalic. in Comment. Academ. Scient. Imperial. Petropolit. tom. iii. p. 389—423. Petropoli, 1732. & tom. iv. p. 289, 290, 291, &c. Petropoli, 1735.

of ferpents by thofe animals themfelves: for he tells us, that they took ftones out of the heads of fome of them, which proved a fovereign remedy for any diforders proceeding from thence. This we take to be the prefent pedra de cobra of the Portuguefe, and la pietra di cobra of the Italians, fent by fome of the miffionaries into Europe. That this wonderful ftone has the virtues afcribed to it, we think, cannot well be denied. The natural ftone muft be undoubtedly the moft efficacious remedy. But a factitious one refembling it, compofed only by the Brahmans, is likewife very famous. From this incident it feems to appear, that the Brahmans, and confequently the Egyptian theology propagated by them all over the Eaft, had confiderable influence in Scythia [m].

Difpofition. With regard to the genius and difpofition of the ancient Tartars, after what has been obferved of the Scythians, we have not much to fay. Some of them have been reprefented as fublimely virtuous, whilft others have been handed down to us in a quite different light, by the Greek hiftorians. Their juftice, temperance, contempt of riches, prudence, and frugality, have been celebrated by Æfchylus, Chœrilus, Ephorus, and Strabo; but they have been as much decried for their inhuman cruelty and ferocity by Apollonius, Diodorus Siculus, Ovid, Mela, Pliny, and Lucian. They have alfo been accufed of the greateft infolence, and a variety of the blackeft crimes, by Herodotus, Clearchus, Lycifcus, and others. But fuch contradictory relations may be accounted for, if we confider how vaft a tract was comprehended under the name of Scythia, and what a number of nations or tribes, differing in many particulars from one another, inhabited it. Befides, they might have been of different difpofitions in different periods of time; and that this was really the cafe, has been intimated by Strabo. That author infinuates, that they had anciently been famous for their juftice, continence, and frugality; but had been debauched a little before his time by the Greeks and Romans. Be this as it may, the progenitors of the Tartars, in the remoter ages, were fo extremely rude and barbarous, that by the term Tartarus, the Romans feem to have alluded to them. The northern part of Scythia has been confidered by Pliny and Solinus as the moft for-

m Plin. Nat. Hift. lib. xxvi. cap. 14. fect. 87 Edit. Hard. Parifiis, 1723. lib. xxvii. cap. 4. & lib. xxv. cap. 8. P. Michael Boim. in Flora Sinenf. apud Athan. Kircher in Chin. illuftrat. p 80, 81. ut & ipfe Athan. Kircher. ibid. P. Giufep. Petrucc. & Auct. anonym. in Defcrizione delle Virtù della Pietra di Cobra, &c. In Bologna,

lorn,

lorn, dark, and dismal part of the terraqueous globe. The Nubian geographer represents the land of Jagog and Magog, as well as the sea bordering upon it, as covered with eternal darkness; which exactly corresponds with the notion that has ever been entertained of hell. Nor do the ancients seem to have understood any thing else primarily by the word Tartarus, than the thick, dark, caliginous air about the poles, though they afterwards applied it to the country itself that was covered with so gross and noisome an atmosphere. Some authors have not scrupled to charge the Scythians with atheism. But no one will believe this, who maturely weighs what has been here advanced, or pays the least regard to the testimony of Herodotus[n].

SECT. II.

The History of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, from their Origin to the Time of Jenghiz Khan.

The Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, of the house of Japhet.

THAT Japhet was the great progenitor of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, seems to be a point almost universally agreed upon by the learned. Those who suppose the ancient Scythians to have been originally a colony detached from Armenia, must necessarily assent to that notion, as has been already observed; and yet these are the only persons who appear in the least to differ from the most generally received opinion. M. Bayer supposes Gog to have been the father of the Scythians, and Magog the progenitor of a people expelled by the Scythians from the country they afterwards possessed. But no regard, as we apprehend, is due to such a supposition: for, in the first place, Gog and Magog are words that seem nearly allied; and in the next, Gog is represented as the prince of Meshech and Tubal, brothers to Magog. From whence we may infer, that Gog was either some king or people of the descendents of Meshech and Tubal, bordering upon, or rather intermixed with, the sons of Magog. Father Calmet sets this point in a very clear light. Be that as it may, M. Bayer must allow, that the Scythians, or ancient Tartars, are descended from Japhet, such a concession being the natural consequence of his favourite hypothesis.

[n] Æschylus apud Strabon. lib. vii. Apollodor. apud Strabon. lib. vii. Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Plin. lib. vi. Herodot. lib. iv. Clearchus Solensis apud Athenæum, p. 524. Lycifcus Acarnan. apud Polybium, p. 789. Sharif Al Edrisis in clim. vii. par. 1. Th. Sig. Bayer. Commentar. Origin. Sinicar. p 307. 309. Petrop. 1750.

The Tartars themselves deduce their origin from Turk the son of Japhet.

The Tartars themselves deduce their origin from Japhet, or, as they call him, Japhis. Nui, say they, sent his eldest son Ham to people the Indies, his second son Sam to inhabit the country of Iran, and his youngest son Japhis to settle his family in the territory of Kuttup Shamach. Some of the Tartars have considered Japhis as a prophet, but others only as a common person. They tell us, that after he had quitted the mountain where the ark rested, he took up his habitation about the rivers Atell and Jaigick, and lived about two hundred and fifty years. The sons that survived him, according to the Tartar tradition, were, Turk, Chars, Sacklap, Russ, Maninach, Zwin, Camari, and Tarich. Mirkhond and Khondemir, in agreement with the sacred historian, make Japhet, or, as they call him, Japheth Ben Nouh, the eldest son of Noah. They also affirm, that, after the ark had rested upon the mountain of Giudi, in Armenia, his father gave him all the countries lying to the east and north of that province. Many of the Orientals believe, that Japhet had the following sons: Gin, Tchin, or Sin, the father of the Chinese; Seclab, the progenitor of the Sclavonians; Manschuge, from whom came the Goths or Scythians called Jagiuge and Magiuge; Gomari, the Gomer of Moses; Turk, from whom descended the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls; Khalage; Khozar; Russ, the great ancestor of the Russians; Sussan, or Soussan; Ghaz, or Gaz; and Tarage, the founder of the Turcoman nation. The Turkish writer Saadi, in great repute among his countrymen, likewise deduces the Ottoman or Othman family, and consequently the nation to which it belongs, from the house of Japhet*.

Turk succeeds his father Japhet.

Turk, according to the Orientals, received the surname of Jafeth Oglan, or Japhis Oglani, i. e. *the son of Japhet*, from his father, who also appointed him to bear the chief rule in his family, after his death. As Turk was a man of a superior genius, he invented many of the conveniences of life, made himself tents, and fixed his residence in a place known at present by the name of Isachkoll. He governed his family and subjects many years, with great justice, prudence, and moderation. According to Mirkhond and Khondemir, he at first settled upon a most delicious spot of ground, called afterwards by the Moguls Silenkaï, and by the Arabs Siluk; taught his people to erect that sort of huts, called by the Persians khargïah; and formed a body of salutary laws for the use of his descendents. These laws, known by

* Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's Genealog. Hist. of the Tart. par. i. chap. 2. Lond. 1730. Vid. & D'Herbel. Biblioth. Oriental. p. 470. & p. 897.

the

the appellation of Jaſſa and Jaſſak among the Moguls, were renewed and augmented by Jenghiz Khân. We are informed by the Tartars, that Turk had four ſons, namely, Taunak, Zakals, Berſazar, and Amlak; but ſome Oriental writers mention theſe five, Ilmingeh, Toutek, Jenghel, Baſegia or Barſegia, Pir Scheher, and Ilak or Imlak. From him the country in which he fixed himſelf was named Turkeſtan, and his ſubjects Turks. The Tartar hiſtorian gives us no account of his age when he died; but other eaſtern authors ſay, that he lived two hundred and forty years, and was contemporary with Kejomaras, or Cajoumaras, the firſt king of Perſia, of the dynaſty of the Piſchdadians.

Taunak. Taunak, who ſucceeded his father Turk, became a very rich and ingenious prince. Beſides many other inventions, highly advantageous to ſociety, he diſcovered the uſe of ſalt. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân makes him alſo contemporary with Kejomaras, and affirms him to have lived two hundred and forty years. According to the later eaſtern writers, this prince could have had only three brothers, the whole poſterity of Turk being divided into four large tribes, denominated the ordas of Erlat, Gialair, Kaugin, and Berlas or Perlas; of the laſt of which was the famous Timur Beg. This diviſion, however, remained only till the time of Ogus Khân, when a new one was introduced. But this laſt ſeems to have been nothing more than a ſubdiviſion of every orda or horde into four leſſer tribes. For if this had not been the caſe, how could any eaſtern hiſtorian, with any colour of reaſon, pretend to deduce the family of Timur Beg from the tribe or orda of Berlas [p]?

Jelza Khân. Jelza Khân aſcended the throne after his father Taunak, who appointed him his ſucceſſor. He reigned many years, but we find nothing memorable related of him: the Tartars themſelves have no traditions that relate to any remarkable occurrences which happened in his reign [q].

Dibbakui Khân. Dibbakui Khân, after his father Jelza Khân's deceaſe, was recognized king of the Turks. He had been declared preſumptive heir to the crown, before the death of Jelza Khân; and, after a long reign, diſpoſed of the ſucceſſion to his ſon Kajuk Khân.

Kajuk Khân. Kajuk Khân had a long and proſperous reign. He ſeems to have gone under the name of Gaiuk Khân amongſt ſome

[p] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi ſupra. Moham. Ebn Emir Khoandſch. Gaiathed. Ebn Hamamed. ubi ſup. Ahmed Ebn Arabſhaw in Vit. Tim. Beg. [q] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, & Moham. Ebn Emir Khoandſ. ubi ſup.

of

of the Oriental historians. The same writers likewise call his father Ilmingé Khân, and intimate that he governed his people by the laws, or political institutions, framed by Turk. Kajuk Khân arrived at an extreme old age, and was succeeded by his son Alanza Khân.

Alanza Khân. Some of the Eastern authors give Alanza Khân the name of Alingeh, or Ilingeh Khân. His subjects, whilst he reigned, wallowed in luxury, and a profusion of all kinds of delights. This enervated and debauched their minds, drew them into a variety of vices, and at last fixed them in idolatry. Alanza Khân, having twin-sons, Tatar and Mogul, or more properly Mung'l, divided his dominions between them, a little before his decease.

Tartars descended from Tatar Khân, and the Moguls from Mogul Khan. From Tatar Khân the Tatars or Tartars derived their name, as the Moguls did theirs from Mogul or Mung'l Khân. These two branches of Turks, being thus rendered independent on one another, formed two considerable empires, which, according to Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân, flourished for several generations. As our readers will expect to meet with something relative to those empires here, we shall beg leave to give concise and distinct accounts of them both, beginning with that of the Tartars.

Tatar Khân. Tatar Khân, the son of Alanza Khân, attained a good old age, and governed his subjects many years. But all the remarkable occurrences of his reign, if any then happened, have been long since buried in oblivion.

Buka Khân. Buka Khân succeeded his father Tatar Khân, and had likewise a pretty long reign. But nothing of moment concerning him is to be met with, either in Mirkhond or the Tartar historian.

Jalanza Khân. After the death of Buka Khân, his son Jalanza Khân took into his hands the reigns of government; but we find nothing memorable related of him.

Ettala Khân. Ettala, or, according to Mirkhond, Issali Khân, succeeded his father Jalanza Khan. Mirkhond calls this last prince Bilingheh Khân; but has transmitted to us nothing remarkable, either of him or his son.

Attaisir Khân. Attaisir, or Aksur Khân, came after Ettala Khân, and was engaged in bloody wars; but what success attended him therein is not known.

Ordu Khân. After the death of Attaisir Khân, his son Orda, or Ordu Khân, came to the Tartar throne. He had a long pacific reign, and died regretted by his subjects.

Baydu Khân. Baydu Khân entered upon the government after his father Orda Khân, and possessed his dominions many years in peace; but, towards the close of his reign, engaged in a war

war with the Moguls or Mungals. This war he did not finish, but left the conclusion of it to his son Siuntz Khân [r].

Siuntz Khân. Siuntz Khân met with bad success in the beginning of his reign, being frequently defeated by Il Khân, emperor of the Moguls. These miscarriages induced him to enter into an alliance with the khân of the Kergis, a potent prince, by virtue of which he was supplied with a large body of auxiliary troops. Notwithstanding this accession of strength, he found himself incapable of making head against Il Khan, who commanded a very formidable well-disciplined army. Siuntz Khân therefore, by inspiring all the neighbouring princes with a jealousy of the overgrown power of Il Khân, prevailed upon them to unite their forces with those of the Tartars against him. When they had assembled all their troops, they attacked Il Khân in his intrenchments; but were vigorously repulsed. They therefore, after some repeated attacks, that proved ineffectual, threw away their arms, and feigned a precipitate flight: this gave them an opportunity of drawing the Moguls out of their intrenchments into an ambuscade, which Siuntz Khân had before prepared for them; the consequences of which were, the total ruin of Il Khan's army, and the utter subversion of the empire of the Moguls.

Mogul Khân. 2. Mogul, or Mung'l Khân, was the first monarch of the Moguls, who received their denomination from him. He was a prince of a very melancholy disposition, from which circumstance he deduced his name, *Mung* in the Tartarian language signifying *melancholy*. He reigned a long time, and at his death left four sons, Kara Khân, Auwas or Azer Khân, Khauwas or Ghez Khan, and Khavar or Or Khân. We are told, that in a direct line from the eldest of these sons descended the famous Jenghis Khân.

Kara Khân. Kara Khân, after his father's death, by the right of primogeniture, came to the empire, and was a very powerful prince. During the summer, he made his abode about the mountains of Ar-tag and Car-tag, called at present Uluk-tag and Kitzik-tag. In the winter he held his residence upon the banks of the river Sirr, at the foot of the mountains, which are to the north of that river. The Tartars tell us, that in his time the true religion was banished out of the world, and idolatry substituted in its place. However, his son Ogus, or Ogus Khân, worshipped the true God; abandoned two wives, because he could not prevail upon them to depart from idolatry, and married a third,

[r] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân, ubi sup. cap. 3.

that embraced his own religion. Kara Khân, informed of these proceedings, by the advice of several Mogul lords assembled a body of troops, in order to surprise Ogus, and put him to death, as he was hunting, without any noise. But Ogus's beloved wife being apprised of their resolution, found an opportunity of acquainting her husband with his father's design. Upon which Ogus drew together some forces, amongst which were several of his relations, who were fallen much below the grandeur of their birth: to these he gave the surname of Vigurs, or *Auxiliaries*. In the mean time, Kara Khân, being advanced with a powerful army, engaged his son Ogus; but was overthrown, notwithstanding the superior number of his troops. The khân had his head pierced by an arrow in the action, of which wound he soon after died[s].

Ogus Khân. Ogus, or Oguz Khân, being advanced to the throne, caused an order to be published, that every one should embrace the true religion. Those who readily obeyed this order, he heaped favours upon; but as many of the idolaters as could be met with, he put to the sword. However, some of them retired into the dominions of the khân of the Tartars, who then resided in the neighbourhood of Dsurdsut, situated towards the frontiers of Khathai or Kitay. The Tartar khan, taking these fugitives under his protection, was defeated in a general action by Ogus Khân, who took such an immense quantity of plunder in the Tartarian territories, that it would not have been possible to carry it off, had not one of his soldiers on this occasion invented chariots. These chariots or carriages the Moguls at that time called kunaeck, and the author of the invention Kankli; from whence the whole tribe known by the name of Kankli, or Kangheli, is said to be sprung.

He subdues the people of Kitay, and other nations. According to the Tartar historian, Ogus Khân, after a war which lasted seventy-two years, obliged all his neighbours to submit to him, and to resume the true religion. Then he reduced the whole empire of Kitay or Kathay, the city of Dsurdsut, the kingdom of Tangut, and Cara Kitay. But upon the sea-coasts, among the mountains behind Kathay, he was repulsed by Itburak or Itborak Khân, and forced to post himself in an advantageous camp between two great rivers, in order to secure himself against a surprize. As Ogus Khân, and his chief officers, were attended by their wives in this expedition, one of those ladies, whose husband was killed in the late action, being big with child, found herself obliged to retire into an old

[s] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân, par. ii. cap. 4.

hollow

hollow tree, when her pains came upon her, and was there delivered of a son. The khân, being informed of this circumstance, gave the child the name of Kipzak, which in the ancient Turkish signified *a hollow tree*. When this boy arrived at a proper age, Ogus Khân sent him with a considerable army against the Vrusses, Vlaks, Madsahrs, and Bashkirs, who inhabited the banks of the rivers Tin, Atell, and Jaigick. These people he subdued, and reigned thirty years in that country. From (I) this Kipzak is descended that tribe, which has all along gone under the denomination of Kipzaks, Cabgiaks, Kiptchaks, or Kipjahs[t].

He farther extends his conquests. Seventeen years after this event, Ogus Khân attacked Itburak, or Itborak Khân a second time, entirely defeated him, put him to death, and then made himself master of all his dominions. He also seized upon the towns of Sairam and Tashkant; and sent his son with a large detachment to subdue Turkestân and Andidsan, which service having effected, he rejoined his father, after having spent six months in the expedition. After this junction, Ogus Khân reduced Samarkand and Great Bukharia. Then he possessed himself of Balk or Balkhe, and about the middle of winter advanced to the town of Khor. But a vast quantity of snow having fallen, his troops sustained infinite fatigues. However, after the reduction of Khor, he continued his march, giving the strictest orders, that none of his men should stay behind upon any pretence whatsoever. But, at the approach of the spring, making a review of his army, he found many of his men missing, who, however, arrived some days after this review. Upon their arrival, he demanded the reason why they had not kept up with the rest of his troops: they answered, that having marched at first a little more leisurely than his other men, there fell so much snow in one night, that they could not possibly rejoin them. They added, that as all their horses and camels had died, they could not possibly till that time appear before him. The khân, in memory of this accident, gave them the surname of Karlik, that word in the old Turkish or Tar-

[t] Iidem ibid. Vid. etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 248.

(I) Kipzak, Cabgiak, Kiptchak, or Kipjah, and his posterity, seated themselves in a part of the great plain lying to the north of the Caspian sea. These Tartars have retained the name of their great ancestor Kipzak or Kipjah, to this very day: their country is at present called, both in Turkish and Persian, Dasht Kipzak or Kipjah, the Plain of Kipzak or Kipjah (1).

(1) D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 222.

tarian language signifying *snow*: and from these people it is, that the Karliks deduce their origin.

He takes Cashmir. Ogus Khân arriving in the neighbourhood of Cashmir, a famous city to the north of Indostan, found Jagma, the khân of that town, prepared to give him a proper reception. That prince having received intelligence of the khan's march, had possessed the avenues of the mountains, and the banks of the rivers which are about Cashmir; by which means he gave a check to the progress of the Mogul arms for a whole year. But at last Ogus Khân surmounted all difficulties, defeated Jagma's troops, took Cashmir, and put the greatest part of the inhabitants, together with the khân himself, to the sword. After which the Mogul monarch returned by the way of Badagshan and Samarkand into his own dominions [u].

He undertakes an [ex]pedition against Iran. Some time after, taking a resolution to invade Iran, he commanded his men to amass a large quantity of provisions, and make all the proper dispositions for a long march. Then setting forward with his numerous forces, he was joined at the town of Talash, by some stragglers, who had staid behind in the late Indian expedition. Having asked one of these, how it came to pass that they did not arrive sooner; he answered, that their horses in general, and his own in particular, had been quite spent: he added, that his wife being delivered on the road, and so reduced with hunger, that she had no milk wherewith to nourish her child, he killed some game for her support, that she might be capable of giving her infant suck. The khân furnished him with a horse and provisions, permitted him to return home, and in memory of that event gave him the name of Kall-atz, *kall* in ancient Turkish signifying to *sit* or *stay behind*, and *atz* denoting *hungry*. The posterity of Kall-atz have since that time increased to such a degree, that there are at present several very numerous branches of them [x].

He takes many cities of Iran, Armenia, &c. Ogus Khân, entering Iran, found that country greatly embroiled. Kejomaras, the first king of Iran, being dead, and his successor Hushang then under age, the nobles of the kingdom (taking advantage of this prince's minority) waged war among themselves. These dissensions greatly facilitated the reduction of Khorassan by Ogus Khân. From thence he moved towards the cities of Irâk, Aderbayagjan, and Armenia; some of which he took by force, and others by capitulation. At the city of Sham, he ordered one of his most faithful attendants to bury privately a golden bow

[u] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi sup. [x] Idem ibid. See also the Introduction of M. Von Strahlenberg, p. 65.

in the eastern part of the neighbouring forest; but in such a manner, that only an exceeding small part of it could be seen: he commanded the same person to bury, in the like manner, three golden arrows, on the west side of the same forest. A year after, he sent his three eldest sons, Kiun, or the *Sun*; Ay, or the *Moon*; and Juldus, or the *Star*; to hunt on the east side of the aforesaid forest, with orders to bring him whatever they found therein: then he dispatched his three younger sons, with orders to repair to the chace, but on the west side only. The first of these had the appellation of Kuck, or *the Heaven*; the second that of Tag, or *the Mountain*; and the third that of Zenghiz, or *the Sea*. The former, besides a large quantity of game, brought with them, at their return, the golden bow they had found; and the latter the three golden arrows, likewise with much game. The khân, having caused the game to be dressed, and added many other dishes to it, made a great feast on this occasion; after the conclusion of which, he divided the golden bow among his three eldest sons, and permitted also the three others to keep each of them a golden arrow. He resided some years in the principal towns he had conquered; and, having left strong garrisons in those of them that were defensible, he led back his army into his hereditary dominions.

He appoints his son Kiun Khân his successor.

At his return he erected a magnificent tent, adorned with golden apples, curiously enriched with all sorts of precious stones; and invited to a grand entertainment his sons, the nobility, and all the officers of distinction in the empire. He ordered nine hundred horses and nine thousand sheep to be killed on this occasion; and provided nine leathern bottles filled with brandy, and ninety with khumisse or mare's milk, for the use of his illustrious guests. Then, having thanked his sons for their inviolable fidelity to him, he made them sovereign princes, giving them subjects of their own. As for the lords of his court, and his principal officers, he rewarded each of them according to his respective merit. His three eldest sons received from him the name of Bussuk, that is, *Broken*, in memory of the golden bow, which they had found, and parted among themselves; and to the three youngest he gave the surname of Utz-ock, or *Three Arrows*, in remembrance of the adventure above mentioned: then, telling them, that, among their ancestors, a bow was the symbol of dominion, and the arrows that of ambassadors, he appointed Kiun his successor, and declared the descendents of the Bussucks only to have a right to the crown. As for the Utz-ocks, and their

posterity, they were to remain in a state of subjection to their brethren for ever [y].

He leaves governors in all his conquests.

In fine, this great conqueror made himself master of Kathay, and subdued all the Turkish tribes or nations of the East. He also reduced Persia, Khorassan, Media or Adarbayagjan, and Armenia; and planted the true religion in the countries of which he possessed himself. Those, who embraced it, he treated with great lenity, and even heaped many favours upon them; but the idolaters he cut off without mercy. He likewise left governors in all his conquests, commanding them to govern according to the Oguzian laws, which he had caused to be promulged for the good of all his subjects.

His memory held in high veneration over a great part of the East.

The memory of Ogus Khân is still held in high veneration over a great part of the East. He is considered as the greatest hero, except the famous Jenghîz Khân, that ever lived, at least in the eastern parts of the world, by the Turks and Tartars of all denominations. The Ottomans, or Othman Turks, so called in contradistinction to the Turkish or Tartarian tribes settled in Great and Little Tartary, from him assume the name of Oguzians; and pretend, that the Othman or Ottoman family is descended in a direct line from Ogus Khân.

He is succeeded by his son Kiun Khân.

Ogus Khân, having reigned, according to the Tartar historian, a hundred and sixteen years, departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Kiun or Ghun Khán. That prince, by the advice of one of his father's old counsellors of the tribe of the Vigurs, made a partition of the empire. He divided Ogus Khân's immense dominions among the six brothers already mentioned, and all their sons. As each of them, therefore, had four sons born in lawful wedlock, and four by his concubines, Kiun Khân's dominions were greatly dismembered, and, after this event, assumed quite a different form. This we learn from Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur, the khân of Khowârazm; but, according to Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah, commonly called Mirkhond, the Persian historian, the division of the Turkish nation into tribes, which this seems to allude to, happened in the time of Ogus Khân. That prince, says this author, divided the Oriental Turks, that is to say, all those remote Turkish or Tartar nations seated beyond the Gihon, or the Oxus, into twenty-four different tribes. As many of them are still in being, our readers will expect an

y Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah, sive Mirkhond. & Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi sup. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 685.

ample

ample account of them, when we come to the modern hiſtory of the Tartars.

Ay Khân.

The throne becoming vacant by the death of Kiun Khân, who reigned ſeventy years, his brother Ay or Ai Khân ſucceeded him. This prince ſeems to have had a long reign, but we find nothing remarkable related of him by any of the eaſtern hiſtorians.

Juldus Khân.

After Ay Khân came Juldus or Ildus Khân, who was not the brother of the former prince already mentioned, but another of the ſame houſe. Juldus Khân held the reins of the empire with great conduct and prudence; but did not live long after his acceſſion to the throne.

Mengli Khân.

Mengli Khân ſucceeded his father Juldus Khân. He ſwayed the ſceptre very worthily, died in peace at a great age, and left the empire to his ſon Tinjis or Tengis Khân [z].

Tingis Khân.

Nothing very memorable is ſaid of Tinjis Khan. We are only told, that, in his old age, he reſigned the crown in favour of his ſon Il Khân, that he might employ the remainder of his days in exerciſes of devotion. He is called by Mirkhond Tonghur Khân.

Il Khân.

Il Khân, and Siuntz Khân, a deſcendant of Tatar Khân, were contemporaries. Theſe two princes were continually at war together: but Il Khân always proved victorious; a circumſtance which obliged Siuntz Khân to procure the aſſiſtance of the khân of the Kergis, a potent prince, with magnificent preſents. He likewiſe found means to unite the neighbouring princes againſt Il Khân, and put a period to the Mogul empire.

Kajan and Nagos retire into the mountains.

Of Il Khân's family only two ſurvived the entire defeat given that prince by Siuntz Khân. Theſe were the youngeſt of his ſons, called Kajan, and his nephew Nagos, his brother's ſon, who were both of an age, and both married the ſame year. Theſe two princes, with their wives, had been taken priſoners by Siuntz Khân, but found means to make their eſcape. When they arrived in their own country, they ſeized upon all the camels, horſes, cows, and ſheep, that had not been carried off by the Tartars. There was no body to diſpute that property with them, all the other Moguls having either periſhed in the battle, or been put to the ſword by Siuntz Khân after that unfortunate action. Then ſtripping ſome of the ſlain, that lay on the field of battle, they took their cloaths, and retired into the mountains [a].

[z] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan & Mirkhond ubi ſupra. D'Herbel. ibid. [a] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan & Moham. Ebn Emir Khoandſch. ubi ſup.

They arrive in Irgana Kon. Several of these they traversed without much difficulty, and at last advanced to the foot of an exceeding high mountain, which had no way over it, but a very small path made by certain animals called in the Tartar language *archara.* This path they found themselves obliged to make use of, though it was so strait, that only one could pass at a time, and he in the most imminent danger of breaking his neck at the least false step. Having ascended the mountain on one side by this path, they descended it also on the other by the same, and were agreeably surprised to see themselves in a most delightful tract, interspersed with rivulets, and charming meadows, abounding with a vast variety of delicious fruits, and inclosed on all sides by inaccessible mountains, in such a manner as to shelter them from all future pursuits of the Tartars.

What that name signifies. Here they lived some time, and gave this beautiful country the name of Irgana Kon, in allusion to its situation; *Irgana* signifying in the old language of the Moguls *a valley,* and *Kon, a steep height.* In process of time, these two families very much increased. Kajan, whose posterity was most numerous, called his descendents Kajath; but the people springing from Nagos were divided into two tribes, one of which received the appellation of Nagosler, and the other that of Durlagan. Kajan, being a strong and robust man, had received the name which he bore from his father Il Khân; *Kajan* signifying *a torrent* that falls with great rapidity from the top of a rock.

They lived here above four hundred years. These two Mogul princes, and their descendents, lived in this place above four hundred years. But the latter then finding it too narrow for them, meditated a return to the fine country their ancestors had been obliged to abandon by Siuntz Khân. However, for some time, they found this step extremely difficult, the path that conducted their forefathers into Irgana Kon having been long destroyed. At last they discovered, that one part of the high mountain above mentioned was not very thick in a certain place, and also that it entirely consisted of iron ore. To this, having before set fire to a layer of wood, and another of charcoal, laid round the foot of the mountain, they applied seventy pair of leathern bellows, and at last melted the mountain here in such a manner, that an opening was left large enough for a loaded camel to pass. And through this passage they all marched out with great joy.

At that time the Moguls had a khân of the family of Curlass, of the posterity of Kajan, whose name was Bertezena. This prince, by his ambassadors, immediately acquainted the neighbouring tribes with the sally the Moguls had

had made out of Irgana Kon; and commanded those who had formerly been dependent on the Mogul khâns, to make their submission to him. As this command was attended with menaces of pursuing with fire and sword those who refused such submission, some of them, without hesitation, put themselves under his government[b].

Bertezena khân of the Moguls, when they sallied out of Irgana Kon.

In the mean time the Tartars, being informed of what had happened, advanced with a powerful army to attack Bertezena Khân. But he defeated them entirely; put to the sword all the Tartars capable of bearing arms that fell into his hands, and spared none but the young people, whom he divided among his Moguls. This event happened just four hundred and fifty years after the excision of the Moguls by Siuntz Khân. This victory had such an effect, that, though the Tartars were still much more numerous than the Moguls, the neighbouring aimacks or tribes did not scruple to put themselves under the protection of Bertezena Khân.

The Moguls overthrow the Tartars.

Bertezena Khân was of the family of Curlass, one of the descendents of Kajan. As this family was very numerous, the Moguls agreed to choose khâns out of it for many generations. After the death of Bertezena Khân, his son Kaw Idill Khân succeeded him; but how long he reigned, we cannot take upon us to determine.

Kaw Idill Khân.

After Kaw Idill Khân's death, his son Bizin Kajan Khân was advanced to the throne.

Bizin Kajan Khân.

That prince had for his successor his son Kipzi Mergan Khân.

Kipzi Mergan Khân.

After the death of Kipzi Mergan Khân, his son Menkoazin Borell Khân obtained the government.

Menkoazin Borell Khân.

The next vacancy of the throne was filled by Bukbendum Khân, the son of Menkoazin Borell Khân.

Bukbendum Khân.

Simsauzi Khân came after his father Bukbendum Khân.

Simsauzi Khân.

Upon the death of Simsauzi Khân, his son Kaymazu Khân mounted the throne.

Kaymazu Khân.

He was followed by his son Temirtash Khân.

Temirtash Khân.

Then came Mengli Chodsa Khân, son to the preceding prince[c].

Mengli Chodsa Khân.

Juldus or Juldusz Khân, succeeded his father Mengli Chodsa Khân. This prince had two sons, who both died before him; but one of them left behind him a son called Dejun Bajan, and the other a daughter named Alancu. These Juldus Khân thought proper to marry together, and

Juldus Khân.

[b] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân, ubi sup. M. Petit de la Croix in Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 8. M. Von Strahlenberg's Historico Geographical Descript. p. 417, 418. D'Herbel. Bib. Orient. p. 489.
[c] Von Strahlenberg's Introd. p. 139, 140. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân ubi sup. cap. 15.

gave

gave a magnificent feast on the occasion. But he died before Dejun Bajan had attained the age required by the laws to qualify him to reign by himself, which was that of thirty years. Dejun Bajan did not long survive his grandfather: however, he had two sons by Alancu. The eldest of these, at his father's decease, was seven years old, and called by some Tartarian writers Belgadei, and by others Belgajut. The youngest, who did not then exceed six years of age, had, according to some, the name of Begdsadei; but, as others say, that of Bugnat. Alancu, during the minority of her children, took care of the regency, and constantly refused to marry again. However, she was afterwards compressed, and conceived by a spirit or incubus. The three brothers, who were the effect of this strange commerce, have been named by the Tartar historians Bocum Catagun, Boskin Zalzi, and Budensir Mogak. From the first the tribe of the Cataguns derive their origin, from the second are sprung the Zalzuts, and the third came to reign over the Moguls. However ridiculous this story may appear, it has been related by all the Oriental historians, though they vary in the circumstances, who treat of the original of the Tartars.

Budensir Khân. Budensir Mogak Khân had two sons, whose names were Tumu and Tocha. His descendents, as well as those of Bocum Catagun and Boskin Zalzi, took the surname of Niron. Tocha, the youngest son of Budensir Mogak, succeeded his father in the empire of the Moguls.

Tocha Khan. Tocha Khân being dead, his son Dutumin was acknowleged khân of the Moguls. He had nine sons, eight of whom were slain by the Dsalagirs, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the life of Jenghîz Khân [d].

Kaydu Khân. Kaydu Khân, the only surviving son, reigned after his father's death. Kaydu Khân had three sons, from two of which the tribe of the Bayzuts deduced their origin.

Bassicar Khân. After Kaydu Khân's death, his eldest son Bassicar Khân ascended the throne. He was a prince of great conduct, and conquered many towns and provinces.

Tumana Tumana Khân succeeded his father Bassicar Khân He was so powerful that he reduced the whole tribe of the Nirons. His subjects were in a very flourishing condition all his reign. He had nine sons, and of their descendents some retained the name of their family, and the rest divided themselves into divers particular branches. There were two twin brothers among those nine sons of Tumana

[d] Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah & Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân ubi sup. Liv. lib. i. cap. 5. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 685. M. Von Strahlenberg's Introduct. p. 46.

Khân, who were called Cabul and Cazuli. The eldest of the nine brothers was named Zazsu, and had three sons, Butakin, Uruth, and Mankatt, from whence the three tribes of the same name are descended. 2. The second son of Tumana Khân was called Janinshur Tumanzu, and was likewise the father of a particular branch. 3. The third son of Tumana Khân had the name of Samcazun, and from him are sprung the Badurgins. 4. The fourth went by the name of Batkilki, and from him all the Budatts are derived. 5. The fifth was Cabul Khân, great-grandfather of Jenghîz Khân. 6. The sixth was Cazuli, who had a son called Jedemsi Burlass, from whom the Burlass draw their origin: Amir Timur Khân, or Timur Beg, was of this tribe. The term *Burlass* signifies *a commander of troops*. 7. The seventh was called Udur Bajan; and from him are descended the Cajums. 8. The eighth was denominated Balzar Oglan, because he halted, *Oglan* signifying in the language of the Moguls *a lame man*; and from him are descended the Vilots. 9. The ninth son of Tumana Khân had the appellation of Olzingan; and from him the branch of the Bassuts drew their origin. The Moguls call a man who has sat long at his own fire-side Olzingan, from whence the name is given, by an indirect application, to the youngest sons, because parents usually keep them longer at home than the other children [e].

Cabul Khân. After the death of Tumana Khân, his son Cabul Khân mounted the throne. He had the six following sons: Ukinjargak, Bortan Bayadur, Kutuktu Manga, Cassan Bayadur, Coblacun, and Budan Kajat. It is here to be observed, that the name or surname of Kajat had been lost for a great number of years; and that Cabul Khân first revived it in his family.

Bortan Khân. Cabul Khân being dead, his son Bortan Khân obtained the sovereignty over the Moguls. He had four sons: Mungadai, Bugan Tayshy, Jessugi Bayadur, and Daritlai Bulai, whose descendents also preserved the name of Kajats.

Jessugi Khân. Jessugi Bayadur Khân succeeded his father Bortan Khân in the throne of the Moguls. He had the five following sons: 1. Tamuzin, or Jenghîz Khân, who did not assume this last name till after he was proclaimed khân. 2. Zuzicar, or *a guest like a wolf*; *zuzi* importing in the Mogul tongue *a guest*, and *car*, *a carnivorous beast* resembling a wolf. 3. Kazun. 4. Tamuka. 5. Belgatai. These five brothers were of a fair complexion, inclining to yellow,

[e] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan's Genealog. Hist. of the Tartars, part ii. chap. 15.

with

with a red circle between the black and white of their eyes. As, therefore the Moguls denominate this kind of eyes *borzugan*, the posterity of these five brothers were surnamed Borzugan Kajat. Tamuzin, or Jenghîz Khân, as well as his brothers, descended in the ninth generation from Budensir Mogak, begot by the spirit or incubus on Alancu the widow of Dejun Bajan, as has been already observed.

Thus have we extracted in few words from the eastern writers, and particularly Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur, khân of Khowârazm, the history of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, from their origin to the birth of Jenghîz Khân; which, we hope, will prove acceptable to all our curious readers. But in order to give them a more adequate idea of those writers; especially of Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân, which was but lately brought into Europe [f] (K), as well as to render the work we are at present engaged in, the more complete, we have thought proper to subjoin the following observations.

The Tartar histories are interspersed with some fictions.

1. The works of these authors, and particularly that of the khân of Khowârazm, are interspersed with fictions, some of which must be considered as palpably absurd. But we cannot from hence infer, that those works contain nothing of truth in them. Mohammed, in the Koran, abounds with fictions; and yet several of these are grafted upon facts that cannot be denied.

The Tartar historians little versed in chronology.

2. The Tartar historians do not only deal in fictions, but discover likewise a most remarkable ignorance in chronology: yet neither ought this so far to prejudice us against them, as to think them in no particular deserving of credit. For who are more inaccurate in their chronology than even those Arab writers whose works are held in great esteem by the learned, when they treat of events that happened in the remoter ages, or even not many centuries before the Hejra? Nay, the ancient Persian writers, who have supplied Gayâtheddîn Ebn Hamameddîn, surnamed Khondemir, and Mohammed Ebn Emîr Khoandschah, with

[f] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan, ubi sup. M. Von Strahlenberg's Introduct. p. 128, 129.

(K) The Tartarian manuscript, containing the genealogical history of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, written by Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur, khân of Khowârazm, was brought into Europe by M. Von Strahlenberg, who had it translated out of the Tartarian into the German tongue. It was afterwards translated into French, and published at Leyden in 1726 (1).

(1) Von Strahlenberg's Introduct. p. 127, 128.

materials

materials for their histories of the dynasty of the Pischdadians, have been guilty of capital blunders in point of chronology.

3. Our author makes Ogus Khân to have lived in the ninth generation from Japhet, the son of Noah; which must be absolutely impossible, since the empire of Kitay was in the time of that conqueror pretty powerful, and consequently must have been formed a considerable number of years before. Iran or Persia, India, and Great Bukharia, were then well peopled, and powerful. The cities of Samarkand, Balkh, Cabul, Cashmir, and Badagshan, were then in a flourishing state; and Turkestân, Andidsan, Khorassan or Khowârazm, Irâk, Armenia, and Aderbayagjan, were then full of cities and towns. At first sight, therefore, it seems to appear, that this part of the Tartar history is absolutely false, and consequently must, without hesitation, be exploded by the learned.

Our author mistaken in the age of Ogus Khân.

That Ogus Khân was at the head of a powerful nation in the East, the progenitors of the present Tartars, and rendered himself famous by his conquests, is a point that cannot be disputed, without incurring the imputation of historical scepticism. However, it must be owned, that the real atchievements of this monarch have been so magnified, and the age in which he lived pushed up so high, by the Tartars of later times, that part of the history they have given us of him exceeds the utmost limits of probability. But then the disposition of the Tartars, always prone to fable and romance; their invincible inclination to extol above measure, and even deify, their most celebrated heroes, a foible by no means peculiar to them; and their surprising ignorance in chronology, must be allowed, in the present case, to plead very strongly in their excuse.

Some truth, however, in the Tartar history of Ogus Khân.

That Ogus Khân was the Madyes of Herodotus, and therefore that the conquests of this prince terminated in the reduction of the Upper Asia, appears to us by no means improbable. Ogus Khân, according to our historian, made himself master of the cities of Armenia, which belongs to the Upper Asia, as well as those of the neighbouring provinces. Now we read of no Scythian prince who ever possessed himself of that country but the Madyes of Herodotus. The same conqueror, according to Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân, took several cities in Aderbayagjan, some by force, and others by capitulation: now Aderbayagjan is known to be the ancient Media, and no Scythian prince ever made an irruption into Media but the Madyes of Herodotus. The Tartar hero penetrated into Sham, or Syria,

Ogus Khân the Madyes of Herodotus.

ria, and even to the borders of Mesr, or Egypt: but no Scythian king, except Madyes, ever entered Syria, or approached Egypt; and that he did so, we learn from Herodotus. This was the last expedition of Ogus Khân, according to our author; and it appears from Herodotus, that, after Madyes had advanced towards the borders of Egypt, he sunk into obscurity. That the Scythians are to be understood by the words Gog and Magog, and particularly Gog, in the prophet Ezekiel, is allowed by the learned: now we find the words Gog and Magog, and particularly Gog, as proper names of nations, never used in Scripture before the time of Ezekiel; and therefore we may reasonably suppose, that the Scythians did not make any figure in the neighbourhood of Israel long before the days of that prophet: which if we admit, the expedition of Ogus Khân into Armenia and Aderbayagjan, Sham and Mesr, must have been the same with that of Madyes into Syria. After Ogus Khân's death, his conquests did not long remain annexed to his hereditary dominions, since none of his successors made any considerable figure; and the Scythians under Madyes maintained themselves but a short time in their new acquisitions, having been driven from thence by the Medes, after they had kept possession of them only twenty-eight years. Lastly, as Dr. Hyde renders it probable, that Kejomaras, the first king of Persia of the Pischdadian dynasty, was that person under whose conduct the Medes shook off the yoke of the Assyrians, we must suppose him to have been Deioces, the first king of Media, after it had revolted from Assyria, according to Herodotus. Now our Tartar historian makes Ogus Khân's irruption into Armenia, Sham, and Aberbayagjan, to have happened not many years after the death of Kejomaras; so that, as Deioces was cut off by the Assyrians about 656 years before Christ, and the Scythians under Madyes penetrated into the aforesaid countries nineteen years after, it seems probable, that the Ogus Khân of Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur was the Madyes of Herodotus.

Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân and Herodotus mutually support each other.

If this supposition be admitted, it will follow that Ogus Khân put an end to his expeditions about the year before Christ 631; and that his conquest of Kitay, or Kathay, is an idle conceit of the later Tartars. The most considerable part of China and Great Tartary were then, in all likelihood, but thinly peopled, since Gog and Magog, the Jagiuge and Magiuge, Yajuj and Majuj, of the Orientals, were scarce known to the Jews, and neighbouring nations, before that time; and seem even then to have been confined to the proper Scythians only. Hence we may perceive,

ceive, that the history of Ogus Khân, preserved among the Tartars, though disguised by fabulous incidents, and gross chronological errors, is undoubtedly founded upon truth; and that Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân and Herodotus mutually strengthen and support each other[g].

4. That a prince should divide a large extensive empire among forty-eight persons, when without the least obstruction he might have kept possession of the whole, in order to avoid difficulties which he would necessarily run himself into by such a division, is certainly very improbable, and has the manifest air of a fiction. In this light, therefore, we must view what our royal author has related of Kiun Khân soon after his accession. It is too incredible and absurd to merit the regard of any sober intelligent person; and yet from this historical fragment, clouded as it is with fable, something of truth seems to appear. We may from hence infer, that the division of the Turkish, Tartar, or Mogul nation into forty-eight tribes is of a very high antiquity; so high, that, when Khoja Rashîd, Khodsa Rashidt, or Fadl'allah, finished his Tartar history, at the command of Gazan Khân, in the year of Christ 1302, if not in the reign of Jenghîz Khân himself, there was no clear tradition concerning the author of it. A truth which cannot be so fairly collected from Mohammed Ebn Emîr Khoandschah, the Persian historian, though he relates something similar of the father of this prince, that is the great and puissant conqueror Ogus Khân[h].

A strange narration of the Tartar historian, which points at an historical truth.

5. According to our historian, the Tartars under Siuntz Khân overthrew the empire of the Moguls, whose very name was lost for four hundred and fifty years in Irgana Kon. But at last they melted their way with seventy pair of bellows out of the mountains which surrounded that delicious tract. And though there were only two Mogul families, who at first escaped thither, yet in so short a space of time as four hundred and fifty years, they became so numerous, that, after their sally out of Irgana Kon, without the knowlege of arms, they defeated the Tartars, a very warlike nation, overturned their empire, and a second time erected their own. Now, that this narration is clogged with insurmountable difficulties, if not apparent absurdities, must be readily owned; and

Another of the same kind.

[g] Herodot. lib. i. & lib. iv. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân's genealogic. Hist. of the Tartars, part ii. chap. 2, 3. [h] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan ubi supra, cap. 3. & cap. 5. Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandschah, ubi supra. Vide & D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 685.

yet,

yet, extravagant as it is, it seems to be founded upon some real event; and from it, without doubt, some historical truth is deducible. That it is founded upon some real event, is apparent from hence, that the memory of the aforesaid sally has been perpetuated even to this day, by the celebration of the anniversary of it, which is still observed through the whole extent of the empire of the Moguls. They make upon that day a piece of iron red-hot; then the khân with a hammer gives the first stroke upon it; after him the heads of tribes and officers of distinction do the like; and, last of all, the common people of every tribe.

From these events we may infer, that the Tartars cannot carry back even the general and traditional knowlege of their history, with any appearance of regularity, farther than their famous sally out of Irgana Kon. Nor, indeed, ought their history to be looked upon as genuine, even so high as that memorable event. For the number of years intervening between Bertezena Khân and Cabul Khân, the great-grandfather of Jenghîz Khân, amount to two thousand five hundred and fifty, though our history places between them only seventeen khâns in continual succession; which is at least two thousand years too much, even allowing each of them thirty years to his reign. In fine, the proper historical period of the Tartars commences at the reign of Jenghîz Khân, as that of the Romans does at Romulus, and that of the Arabs at Mohammed; the reign of that conqueror separates the historical from the fabulous times, nor can we, before this, be sure of attaining the truth [1].

The Tartar historians differ from those of the Persians.

6. Our author Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân differs greatly in some points from the Persian historians, of which the limits we have here prescribed ourselves will not permit us to give many instances. The Persian historians make Tur, the founder of the Turkish nation, to have been a son of one of their first monarchs, and represent the Tartar princes as often overcome and made tributary by their heroes; which runs counter to what has been advanced by our Tartar historian. The Persian writers consider Afrasiab king of Turkestân as a great hero, and conqueror of Persia; whereas, according to the Khân of Khowârazm, Afrasiab Khân was at the head only of an inferior monarchy, and is not placed in the line of Mogul or Tartarian emperors. But all such differences as these must be ascribed to the

[1] Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khân's Genealogic. Hist. of the Tartars, part ii. chap. 15. See also the translator's Preface, p. 8, 9.

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enmity, the spirit of jealousy and emulation, always subsisting between the Persian and Tartar nations, which determined their historians to endeavour constantly to raise the glory of the one at the disadvantage of the other. Nor is any thing more common than such a conduct among the historians of rival nations in other and politer parts of the world. For which reason we have here taken little notice of what the Persian writers have related concerning the Tartarian affairs, except when they confirm what has been related by our royal author. Besides, every thing of moment, delivered by the best Persian historians of the ancient Turkish or Tartar princes, will be found in the history of Persia, according to the Oriental writers.



CHAP. LXXXVIII.

The History of the Indians.

SECT. I.

Description of India.

IT has been already observed, that the ancients sometimes gave the name of India to the Proper Ethiopia, as several of the Eastern nations, particularly the Persians, do at this day. Nay, that they comprehended many of the remotest nations, especially those under the torrid zone, whose names they were ignorant of, under the denomination of Indians, has been also evinced from some good authors. Part of Scythia seems to have been annexed to India by Ptolemy; and we find four satrapies, or provinces, possessed by the Gedrosi, Arachotæ, Arii, and Paropamisadæ, all lying to the west of the river Indus, added to it by Pliny. But neither those provinces, nor any part of Scythia, belonged to India properly so called, as appears even from Ptolemy himself, in his description of this country, whose limits and extent we shall now endeavour to define.

Many remote countries anciently called India.

India, then, or rather India Propria, was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the west by the territories of the Arachotæ, Gedrosi, and Paropamisadæ; on the north by Scythia and Serica, from the former of which, part of it was separated by mount Imaus; on the east by the country of the Sinæ; and on the south by the Indian ocean. With

The limits and extent of India Propria.

With regard to the extent of this country, authors ar not agreed. It formed a sort of rhomboides, according to Strabo, two of whose sides exceeded those opposite to them three thousand stadia. One of the former was thirteen thousand, and the other sixteen thousand, of those stadia; besides which, there were two capes or promontories belonging to the country now under consideration, that projected three thousand stadia into the Indian ocean. In this particular, Eratosthenes and Megasthenes, two of Strabo's authors, agreed: but Patrocles, another of them, was of a different opinion. India equalled in extent all the other kingdoms of Asia, if we may give any credit to Ctesias. Nearchus says, that it could not be traversed under four months, and Onesicritus asserts it to have been a third part of the habitable world. Diodorus Siculus affirms India to have been thirty thousand stadia broad, and twenty-eight thousand stadia long; but all these computations not a little exceed the truth [k].

Its situation. This vast region is situated between the 69th and 90th degrees of longitude from the meridian of London, and the 8th and 36th degrees of north latitude; since it extends from the most western mouth of the Indus to the most eastern opening of the Ganges, and from Mus Tag or mount Imaus to cape Comorin. It is beautifully diversified by mountains, rivers, and spacious fruitful plains; which render it one of the most agreeable and delicious countries in the world. The riches produced in the bowels of it are immense; but these we shall touch upon hereafter.

The primary division of India Propria. *India intra Gangem.* The river Ganges, according to the old geographers, divided this country into two parts, which they called India intra Gangem, and India extra Gangem; and this division, especially among the learned, still prevails. India intra Gangem was limited on the west by the Indus, on the north by mount Imaus, on the east by the Ganges, and on the south by the Indian ocean. It contained a great number of kingdoms or provinces, as well as cities and towns, the principal of which we must here endeavour to give our readers some idea of, and then proceed to a short description of the other part of India situated to the east of the Ganges.

Some place in the northern part of this tract the Aspii, Thyræi, and Arasaci, not far from the river Choaspes,

[k] Ptol. & Dionys. Characen. ubi sup. Diod. Sic lib. ii. cap. 85, 86, 87. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 17. Eratosthenes, Megasthenes, & Patrocles, apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. Ctesias, Nearchus, & Onesicritus apud Strab. ubi supra.

whom

whom Alexander subdued in his march to that river. The chief towns here were Plegerium and Gorydalis, according to Strabo. The Guræi were a neighbouring people, through whose territories Alexander passed, in order to attack the Assaceni. The former of these had a town near the confluence of the Cophen and the Choaspes, that went under the names of Nagara and Dionysiopolis; but this was not a place of such note as Massaga or Mazagæ, the capital of the Assaceni, which, after a brave defence, surrendered to the Macedonians. Ora and Bazira likewise were two fortresses in this district, taken by Alexander, who obliged the garrison of the latter, which enjoyed a very high situation, to abandon the place, and retire to a steep rock called Aornos. This rock was two hundred stadia in circumference, and eleven stadia high, according to Arrian, and a post of such strength, that the Indians considered it as impregnable: for it could only be ascended by one narrow path, which had been made with great difficulty, and had on its summit a fountain of pure water, with as much arable ground as would produce corn sufficient to support a thousand men; insomuch that it had baffled all the efforts of Hercules himself. However, Alexander at last possessed himself of it with inconsiderable loss, after he had forced Peucela or Peucelaotis, Embolima, and several other towns near the western bank of the Indus, to surrender at discretion. We must not omit observing here, that the famous city of Nysa, supposed to be built by Bacchus, according to Strabo, stood in the tract between the Cophen and the Indus. Mount Meros, or Merus, stood in the neighbourhood of Nysa, which was famous for Bacchus's preservation, with his army, upon it, when the plague, and other distempers, made a dreadful havock in the circumjacent plains. This circumstance occasioned the fable insinuating Bacchus to have been twice born, and taken out of Jupiter's thigh, if we will believe Diodorus Siculus, μηρὸς in Greek signifying a *thigh*. The towns and petty nations, or cantons, mentioned here, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit, as some authors of credit seem to annex them to India, though others, with more reason, separate them from India Propria, as being situated to the west of the Indus.

Taxila was a large and opulent city not far from the eastern bank of the Indus, and the most considerable of all those seated between the Indus and the Hydaspes. It was celebrated for the wisdom of its laws and political institutions. It is probable, that the Samarabriæ, Sambruceni, Bisambritæ, Osii, Antixeni, and others, inhabited part

of the country where Taxila ſtood. The whole tract, according to Pliny, went under the name of Amanda. It appears from ſome good authors, that Alexander the Great, to perpetuate the memory of the victory he gained over Porus, and of his horſe Bucephalus, built two cities, which he called Nicæa and Bucephala; the former of which probably ſtood upon the eaſtern, and the latter upon the weſtern bank of the Hydaſpes.

The kingdom of Porus, who was defeated by Alexander, lay between the Hydaſpes and the Aceſines, and was one of the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of India, when that conqueror carried his victorious arms into this region. It was then extremely rich, and contained three hundred towns, according to Strabo. But the names of few of them have been handed down to us by any of the ancient geographers [l].

The Adraiſtæ, an Indian canton, poſſeſſed a diſtrict to the eaſt of the Aceſines and the Hydraotes, near the eaſtern bank of which laſt river ſtood a city, which Alexander forced to a capitulation: the name of this city, according to Arrian and Curtius, was Pimprama. After the reduction of it, Alexander penetrated into the territories of the Cathæi, as Arrian calls them, or the Cathei, as we find them named by Strabo. That prince ſoon made himſelf maſter of Sangala, their metropolis, ſeated near the weſtern bank of the Hyphaſis, the laſt river he paſſed in his Indian expedition. Alexander erected twelve altars on the eaſtern bank of the Hyphaſis, for a memorial, that the ſpot on which they ſtood was the limit of his conqueſts, his troops refuſing to follow him to the Ganges. Having, therefore, repaſſed the Hyphaſis, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a march towards the Hydaſpes [m].

Near the confluence of the Hydraotes and the Aceſines, the Oxydracæ had their habitations. They were a fierce and valiant nation, as were alſo their neighbours the Malli, whoſe territories bordered upon the Hydraotes. Both theſe nations Alexander reduced. In the neighbouring diſtrict he is ſaid to have built a new city, to which, as Cellarius imagines, he gave the name of Alexandria.

To the ſouth of the Malli were ſituated the Sabracæ, a powerful nation, according to Curtius; near whom, in a

[l] Arrian. de Expedit. Alexand. lib. iv. cap 28. Strab. lib. xv. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. cap. 88. Ptol ubi ſupra. Vid. etiam Chriſtoph. Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 23 [m] Arrian. ubi ſupra. lib. v. Strab ubi ſupra. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 16, 17, & alib. Curt. lib. vi. & lib. vii. Vide etiam Chriſtoph. Cellar. ubi ſupra, lib. iii. cap. 21. & 23.

ſouth-

outherly direction, we may place the Sogdii, in whose country Alexander built another city, which he likewise probably called Alexandria. The Musicani, whose kingdom or dynasty we find mentioned by Onesicritus in Strabo, had still a more southerly situation; and to the south of them Curtius has fixed the seat of the Præsti. The kingdom of Sabus, or, as Diodorus Siculus will have it, Sambus, approached still nearer the Indian ocean. All the nations, or tribes, and places here mentioned, bordered upon the eastern bank of the Indus, as did likewise the town and island of Patala, the last of which was formed by the mouths of that river. Some of the ancients have denominated the island Patalena, Pattalena, and Patalia, and the city Patala or Pattala; this was built in the upper part of the island, and defended by a very strong citadel. The Porticani, another Indian tribe, seem to have been placed between the Musicani and Patalena, both by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo.

Besides the nations and places above mentioned, we find many more situated on the sea-coast between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, enumerated by Ptolemy. But as these were, for the most part, insignificant and obscure in the days of that geographer, we shall only touch upon a few of the most considerable.

The three first places that present themselves to our view are Barygaza, Supara, and Simylla. Barygaza, or Burygaza Emporium, was a maritime city and port, upon the river Namadus, in a southern direction from the mouths of the Indus; from which the neighbouring gulph received the denomination of Sinus Barygazenus. The true name of this town seems to have been Gaza, the word Bar or Bary having been added to it on account of its situation; that word signifying, in the ancient Indian, Persic, and Tartarian tongues, *water*, or the *sea*. And we are informed by Pliny, that there was a remote town in Ethiopia called Gaza, and another on the sea-coast, at some distance from it, which went by the name of Baragaza. In confirmation of this notion, we find a mediterranean town mentioned by Arrian as situated in Sogdiana, not far from the confines of India intra Gangem, the very region we are considering, called Gaza; which amounts to an evident proof, that Gaza may be naturally supposed to have been the name of a town, and Barygaza that of a maritime town in India intra Gangem. Many traces of Alexander's expedition, such as ancient sacella or chapels, altars, the vestiges of camps, and large wells, were still remaining in the adjacent territory when Arrian wrote his

Periplus Maris Erythræi. This author also relates, that even to his time many ancient drachms, with Greek legends, and the effigies of Menander and Apollodotus, two princes who reigned there after Alexander's departure, were found in the neighbourhood of Barygaza. The modern Bargant, both by its name and situation, seems to answer to the Barygaza of the ancients.

Supara, or Supara Emporium, was likewise seated on the Sinus Barygazenus, a little south of Barygaza. Possibly the modern Chitpour, or Shitpur, may be supposed to correspond with Supra, both the name and situation of the latter agreeing tolerably well with those of the former. Be that as it will, Supara has been taken for the Ophir of Scripture by the learned Lucas Holstenius.

Simylla was the name both of a town and of a cape or promontory. The former, by way of distinction, had the denomination of Simylla Emporium, and stood at a considerable distance in a southern direction from Supara; but neither of them has been greatly celebrated by the ancients. Souali, on the river Tapi, opposite to Surat, probably occupies the spot on which stood the Simylla of the ancients [a].

Hippocura, Balipatna, and some other places in this tract, are mentioned, but not with any marks of distinction, by the old geographers. Muziris was not a town of any repute when Pliny wrote his Natural History; but it made a considerable figure in the time of Arrian and Ptolemy. Calligeris, Nitriæ, and other obscure places lightly touched upon by the ancients, deserve not the least attention.

Towards the southern extremity of this tract, we find the region of the Aii, Elancon Emporium, Cottiara Metropolis, and the town and promontory of Comar or Comaria, to the last of which answers the cape Comorin of the moderns. All these places were to the south of the river Baris, whose name denotes *water* in the languages above mentioned. We meet with other obscure nations, or rather tribes, and maritime places, between cape Comar or Comorin, and the mouths of the Ganges, taken notice of by the ancients; but they merit not the least regard.

Ozene, Bætana, Hippocura, Carura, Sora, Othura, and other mediterranean towns in the southern part of India intra Gangem, on account of their insignificancy and obscurity,

[a] Ptol. ubi sup. Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 26, 27, et alib. Oxon. 1698. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 19. Lucas Holstenius ad Ortel. p. 17.

ſcurity, our readers will excuſe us from expatiating upon. But Palibothra, upon the confluence of the Erannoboa and the Ganges, has been repreſented as ſo conſiderable a place by Pliny, Ptolemy, and Strabo, that we muſt not paſs it over in ſilence. It was the capital of the Praſii, one of the moſt illuſtrious and potent nations of India. Palibothra made ſuch a figure in the ſouthern part of the country we are conſidering, that, according to ſome, from it all the inhabitants of the tract in which it ſtood received the denomination of Palibothri: their king was ſo powerful, that he could bring into the field an army of ſix hundred thouſand foot, and thirty thouſand horſe. Ptolemy places the Praſii, whom he calls Praſiatæ, near the Ganges, but above the Palibothri [o].

The Indian ſages, or philoſophers, ſtyled by the Greeks Gymnoſophiſts, have had a ſeat aſſigned them by Ptolemy in the north-eaſtern part of India, between the Hyphaſis and the Ganges. The Brachmans, or Brahmans, a branch of the Gymnoſophiſts, according to Cellarius, have alſo been fixed in the ſouthern part of this region, between the Solenus and the Chaberus, two rivers not far from the ſea-coaſt, by the ſame geographer; who, by theſe different ſituations, ſeems to have conſidered the latter as ſeparate and diſtinct from the former. Pliny ſays, that many Indian nations had the surname of Brachmans, one of which were the Maccocalingæ. Alexander took a city inhabited by the Brachmans in the territories of the Malli, according to Arrian: and that the ſame people had ſome towns near the Muſicani and Sambus or Sabus's dominions, at a ſmall diſtance from the Indus, we are informed by Diodorus Siculus. The laſt of theſe, according to that author, ſurrendered to Alexander, after a brave defence. Porphyry aſſerts ſome of the Brachmans to have taken up their habitations in the mountainous diſtricts of India, and others on the banks of the Ganges. The Calingæ occupied the tract contiguous to the mouths of the Ganges in the days of Pliny, who ſeems to have called them likewiſe Maccocalingæ. The Gangaridæ, ſo denominated from their proximity to the Ganges, were intermixed with the Calingæ, from whence aroſe the appellation of Gangaridæ Calingæ. Cellarius has placed the Padæi, Pandæ, or Pandæi, in India intra Gangem; though that ſuch was their ſituation, does not appear from the ancients. On the con-

[o] Plin. lib. vi. cap. 23. Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 30, 31. Ptol., ubi ſupra. Strab. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 2. Vide etiam Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 699.

trary, from Herodotus, Tibullus, and others, it rather seems probable, that they were situated to the east of the Ganges, and even at a considerable distance from that river.

India extra Gangem. India extra Gangem was terminated on the west by the Ganges, on the north by Scythia, on the east by the country of the Sinæ, and on the south by the Indian ocean. Not far from the mouths of the Ganges, from whence they deduced their name, were seated the Gangaridæ, of which that branch surnamed Calingæ inhabited the western bank. In all the manuscripts and printed copies of Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, we find them called Gandaridæ; but that this name must have been a corruption of Gangaridæ, the word Ganges itself, from which that was derived, puts beyond all manner of doubt[p].

In the maritime part of this country were situated, according to Ptolemy, a city denominated Pentapolis, Baracura Emporium, and the mouth of the river Tocosanna. The Silver Region, in which we find the towns of Sambra and Sada, with the river Sadus, came next; and after them Berabonna Emporium, Temala, and the river of the same name. To these succeeded the country of the Bisyngeti, who were man-eaters, and the town of Saraba, from whence the Sinus Sarabacus received its name. Besides which, in a southern direction, we meet with Besynga or Babysenga Emporium, and Beraba, two towns of some note, metioned by Ptolemy.

The Aurea Chersonesus projected into the Sinus Gangeticus and Sinus Magnus, having on its western side Tacola Emporium and the river Chrysoana. In the southern angle the ancients placed the promontory called Malæi Colon, together with the towns of Coli and Perimula. Many take this Aurea Chersonesus to be the Ophir of Scripture, because there is a great abundance of all those commodities here, which Solomon received from Ophir. The region of the Lestæ, or Pirates, was contiguous, in a northern direction to the Aurea Chersonesus, through which ran the Sobannus. That river, according to Ptolemy, divided the country we are considering into two parts, in one of which stood the towns of Samarande and Pagrasa, and in the other Pithonobaste Emporium and Zaba. Balonga and Corgatha, each of which seems to have been the capital of a particular district, were situated upon the Sinus

p Strab. lib. xv. p. 489 & lib. xvi. p. 524. Ptol. ubi sup. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 17 Arrian de Expedit. Alexand. lib vi. cap 7. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii cap 102, 103. Salmas. ubi sup. p. 700. Vide etiam Christ. Cellar. ubi sup.

Magnus

Magnus of Ptolemy, who places the mouths of the Doana, as well as the town of Throana, between them. That geographer likewise takes notice of Sinda, and another Pagrasa, in this tract, with which, and the two rivers Dorius and Serus, he terminates the maritime part of India extra Gangem[q].

Near the foot of mount Mæander, or Mæandrus, were seated Triglypton, Tosole, and Tugma, mediteranean cities of considerable note, according to Ptolemy. Above the Silver Region was situated a tract styled the Golden Region, between the Sinus Gangeticus and Sinus Magnus. Between the Dorius and the Serus we meet with a province called Chalcitis by Ptolemy, from the metals it produced. The Tacoræi, Corancali, Indaprathæ, and Cacobæ, had their habitations in the northern part of India extra Gangem; and in the middle of that country we find the Iberingæ and Dabusæ. But as these, and other obscure cantons inhabiting the remote part of the globe now in view, were almost entirely unknown to the ancients, our readers will not expect any farther account of them.

The most celebrated rivers of India were the Indus and the Ganges, both of which were larger than the Nile, according to Strabo. Pliny tells us, that the Indus (L) had its source in mount Paropamisus; and that nineteen rivers discharged themselves into it; the most famous of which were the Cophes, the Choaspes, the Sirarus, the Hydaspes, the Acesines, the Hyarotis or Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis. The Cophes carried along with it into the Indus the Malamantus, the Soastus, and the Garæas; as the Acesines did the Tutapus. As for the Ganges, it was taken to be the largest river in the world by Strabo; and issued from mount Imaus, the Mus Tag of the moderns, or from an ascent in the neighbourhood of it. Pliny tells us, that nineteen rivers emptied themselves into the Ganges, of which the principal were the Iomanes, the Erannoboa, the *Rivers.*

[q] Ptol. ubi sup.

(L) This river was likewise called Sindus by Pliny and Arrian, and one of its mouths has this name given it by Ptolemy. The native Indians at this day call the Indus, when it draws near the Indian ocean, Sinde or Sindus. Hence the neighbouring tract is called Sind, and that part of the Indian ocean bordering upon it the Sindian sea. The *sindon*, or fine Indian linen, so celebrated among the ancients, probably deduced its name from this tract, as vast quantities of that valuable commodity were anciently exported from thence (1).

(1) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 20. Arrian. Mar. Eryth. Peripl.

Condochates, the Cosoagus, the Sonus, the Caina, the Cossoanus, the Sittocatis, the Solomatis, the Sambus, the Magone, the Agoranis, and the Omalis. The Namadus, the Nanaguna, the Pseudostomus, the Baris, the Solenus, the Chaberus, the Tyna, the Manda, and other obscure rivers appertaining to India, mentioned by Ptolemy, we shall not expatiate upon, as nothing remarkable of them has been handed down to us by any of the ancient geographers or historians [r].

Mountains. Pliny informs us, that the Imaus, Emodus, Paropamisus, and Caucasus, formed a long ridge of mountains, which served as a limit on that side to India; they may therefore be considered as bearing some relation both to India and Scythia. This vast chain of mountains, which separated the latter from the former, was the same as the mount Pamer and the Mus Tag, or Imus Tag, of the present Tartars. By the last of these Ptolemy understands a large ridge of mountains running from south to north, which he calls the Semanthini; but for this he has not a proper foundation. For the true Imaus, or Imus Tag, bends chiefly from east to west, and separates a great part of Kalmuck Tartary from Little Bukharia, or the kingdom of Kashgar. Ptolemy likewise mentions as belonging to this country the mountains called Montes Apocopi, Sardonix, Bettigus, Vindius, Adisathrus, and Uxentus, towards the Ganges. He also takes notice of mount Mæandrus, mount Sepyrrus, and mount Damasus, in India extra Gangem; but none of these was famous on account of any remarkable event that happened in their neighbourhood. It may not be improper to observe here, that in the Tartarian language *Mus*, or *Maus*, to which the Tartars in common pronunciation prefix the vowel *I*, signifies *ice*, and *Tag a mountain*. Imustag, therefore, denotes the *icy* or *snowy mountain*; and from hence the corrupt word Imaus deduces its origin. The ancient term signifying *mountain* was *tau*, or *taui*; and this is still added to the proper names of their mountains by the Tartars of Siberia. Some of the modern Tartars pronounce this Dag, Dak, Dau, and Daui; from whence we may derive the name of the Daci, a nation of Scythian extraction, who were anciently denominated not only Daci, but Daui, as we learn from Strabo. In like manner, the denomination of Caucasus, that is, Caf, Caco, or Coho, in Persic, denotes *mountains*,

[r] Ptol. ubi supra. Strab. lib. xv. Plin. lib vi. cap. 20. & alib. Arrian. Expedit. Alex. lib. iv. cap. 22, 23. 25.

or *a mountainous tract*, as may be evinced from several authors[s].

We find several islands in the Indian ocean taken notice of by the ancients, which we shall here beg leave lightly to touch upon. Barace lay in the Sinus Canthicus, according to Ptolemy; Milizigeris, Heptanesia, Peperina, Tricadira, Trinesia, Leuce, and Panigeris, extended themselves from thence to the Sinus Colchicus; Cory was in the Sinus Argaricus, and under the mouths of the Tyna Susuara. Besides which Arrian mentions another called Cilluta, that seems to have been situated in the principal mouth of the Indus, had several commodious ports, and was of a very considerable extent[t]. *Islands.*

But the most famous of the Indian islands was the Taprobane, or Taprobana, of the ancients, and the Ceylon of the moderns, said by Strabo to be as large as Britain. Mela doubted whether it was an island, or the first part of another world, the latter opinion having been embraced by Hipparchus. It was, however, considered as an island by many writers who lived before Mela, and known to be so in the time of Alexander the Great. The king of this island sent four ambassadors to Claudius, the principal of which was called Rachia, who informed the Romans, that there were five hundred towns in Taprobane; that Palæsimundus the metropolis had a fine haven, and contained two hundred thousand souls; and that there was in the island a lake three hundred and seventy-five miles in circumference. They also related, that this lake was interspersed with several small islands, whose soil was extremely fertile; and that out of it there issued two rivers, one of which, named Palæsimundus, discharged itself into the port belonging to the city of the same name, by three channels, the largest of which was fifteen stadia broad, and the smallest five. The other river, according to them, had the name of Cidar, or Cidara, and moved in a northern direction. They likewise affirmed, that the Promontorium Coliacum, the nearest part of India, was four days sail from the coast of Taprobane, the island of the Sun lying in the middle of the passage. But Ptolemy, who has given us a prolix description of Taprobane, differs in many particulars from these ambassadors. He makes it nearer the coast of India; and does not enumerate above thirty towns. He says not a word of the lake Megisba, nor of the two rivers whose courses were described by the Taprobanian ministers;

s Plin. lib. vi. cap. 17. Ptol. ubi supra. Von Strahlenberg ubi supra, & alib. Strab. lib. vii. p. 304. Lutet. Parisior. 1620.

t Ptol. ubi supra. Arrian. ubi sup. lib. vi. cap. 19.

and passes over in silence both the town and harbour, as well as the river, called Palæsimundus. Such different descriptions have made some learned men suspect, that the Taprobane of the ambassadors and that of Ptolemy must have been different islands. Several persons of great erudition have taken Sumatra to answer to the Taprobane of the ancients better than Ceylon; but the generality of learned men have been of another opinion. Nor is it so probable, that the Roman and Alexandrian merchants undertook so long a voyage as to the island of Sumatra, for the sake of commerce, as that they failed to Ceylon on that account. But the situation of Taprobane, as laid down by Ptolemy, so nearly corresponds with that of Ceylon, that we cannot well doubt of the identity of those islands; though that the aforesaid geographer has without any reason extended his Taprobane beyond the line, must not by any means be denied.

The principal towns in this island, according to Ptolemy, were Margana, and Jogana, on the western shore; Odoca, Dagana, a place sacred to the moon, and Dionysus, in the southern part; Procurus on the eastern coast; Moduti Emporium and Talacori Emporium on the northern side; and, among the mediterranean places, Anurogrammum and Maagrammum, two cities of considerable note. The most remarkable promontories were the Promontorium Andrasimundi, the Jovis Promontorium, the Avium Promontorium, the Dionysi Promontorium, the Cetæum Promontorium, and the Boreum Promontorium opposite to India. The chief rivers were the Soana, the Azanus, and the Ganges. The most noted havens seem to have been the Priapius Portus, the Mordi Portus, the Solis Portus, the Rhizola Portus, and the Spatana Portus. Among the principal bays or gulphs, we may rank the Prasodes Sinus, which has been placed by Ptolemy on the western coasts of the island.

Cellarius believes, that the Insula Solis of Pliny may be considered as the same island with the Cory of Ptolemy; which, if those authors are reconcileable with each other, may possibly not be very remote from truth. The latter has fixed Bazacata, a small island, in the Sinus Gangeticus, at present the bay of Bengal; and, at a considerable distance from it, in a southern direction, the island of the Good Dæmon. In the Sinus Magnus, now the bay of Siam, opposite to the country of the Sinæ, were situated the three islands of the Satyrs, and further to the south the auriferous island of Iabadius, whose metropolis was denominated Argentea, or the Silver City. Some of the old geographers mention

mention two islands called Chryse and Argyre, as lying between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges; but their accounts of them are so confused and indistinct, that they cannot be depended upon. In fine, those pretended islands seem to be the Silver Region, and Golden Region, or Golden Peninsula, above mentioned, as has been long since hinted by Salmasius[u].

The country of the Sinæ. The Sinæ, according to Ptolemy, inhabited a tract to the east of India, behind the Sinus Magnus; so that, properly speaking, they did not belong to India, though they seem to have been considered as appertaining to that country by Cellarius. The tract they occupied was bounded on the east and south by the Terra Incognita, on the north by Serica, and on the west by India extra Gangem. The town of Aspithra, near which ran a river of the same name, issuing from the Semanthine mountains, was situated at a small distance from the confines of India. The towns of Bramma and Rabana stood near the mouths of the rivers Ambastus and Senus, which discharged themselves into the Sinus Magnus. The Ichthyophagi, or the Ichthyophagi Æthiopes, had a district assigned them near the line, and and to the south of them ran the river Cotiares. In a southern direction from the line, we likewise meet with Coccoranagora, Thinæ, Thina, or Sinæ Metropolis, Catigara, and the town of Saraga. Acadra, or Acathra, a mediterranean town, had a northern situation, and seems to have been a place of some importance. In fine, the country of the Sinæ seems to have answered to the tract comprehending the kingdoms of Siam, Laos, Camboya or Cambodia, Tonquin, and Cochinchina, or at least the most considerable part of that tract. It is probable, that this region was anciently called Sin, Sim, and Siam, which seem to be names very nearly related; for, as Sinæ was the ancient name of the people, Sin, or Sim, was undoubtedly that of the country; and Siam, the present name of a pretty large part of it, in found approaches very near to Sim, or Sin. Nor can any thing material be objected to this, except the situation of Serica, bounding the country of the Sinæ on the north, which some may possibly place at a very considerable distance from the eastern extremity of India extra Gangem. However, we cannot believe that there is the least foundation for such an opinion. M. Bayer, indeed, asserts the Seres to have been seated in the interior part of India intra Gangem, and consequently nearer the

[u] Strab. lib. ii. Hipparchus apud Pompon. Mel. lib. iii. ut et ipse Mel. ibid. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 22. Salmas. Bochart. Isaac. Voss. apud Cellar. ubi sup. ut et ipse Cellar. ibid.

frontiers

frontiers of Persia than those of China. But, in support of this notion, he has not offered so much as a single argument [x].

Most of the mountains of India were covered with trees that bore a great quantity and variety of fruits. The delightful plains with which this country abounded, were very spacious and fruitful. The richness of their soil was incredible, their atmosphere pure and balsamic, and the rivers were inexpressibly pleasant and fertilizing. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indians had two harvests in a year; that the region they inhabited produced a variety of animals of uncommon strength and beauty; and that their country (being animated by a proper quantity of the solar rays) should have been in reality a second paradise. The elephants of India excelled all others, and particularly those of Africa. Some of them were immensely large, and, after being trained up in a proper manner, behaved with inconceivable dexterity in an engagement. The woods abounded with great plenty and variety of game; as also with animals that were not elsewhere to be found. As for the bowels of the earth they were well stored with gold, silver, and precious stones. The men and animals are said to have been of a larger size than in other countries, nature seeming here to be in her bloom, and utmost vigour [y].

Curiosities. As the limits here prescribed will not permit us to expatiate largely upon the curiosities of this country, a description of which would form a considerable volume, we shall only exhibit to our readers the following, which are some of the principal: 1. A species of amphibious animals produced on the coast of Taprobane, some of which resembled a horse, others an ox, and others called whales by Strabo. 2. The surprising inundations of the Acesines, and other rivers, whose waters, about the time of the summer solstice, rose forty cubits high, and overflowed all the neighbouring plains, according to several authors. 3. The northern rains swelling the rivers of India in the same manner as the southern showers augment the Nile. 4. A desert of vast extent, containing above a thousand cities, villages, and towns, which had been abandoned by their inhabitants, upon the Indus's changing its channel. 5. The fine linen and silk made in this country, which were highly valued by the ancients. 6. The reed or cane producing a sort of natural honey, which was endued with an intoxicating quality. 7. A tree, described by Onesicritus, grow-

[x] Ptol. ubi sup. cap. 3. Cellar. ubi sup. Marcian. Heracleot. p. 4. Th. Sig. Bayer. Comment. Orig. Sinicar. p. 309. Petropoli, 1730.
[y] Diod. Sic. Strab. Plin. Arrian. Curt. Plut. in Alex.

ing in the territories of the Musicani, one of the southern parts of India, whose boughs, after they had ascended to the height of twelve cubits, grew downwards, and took root in the earth; which course they continued till they had formed a sort of long booth or arbour resembling a tent or pavilion supported by pillars. 8. Some Indian trees of a most enormous size, every one of which afforded shelter to four hundred horsemen. 9. A small tree, or shrub, that had pods like those of a bean, ten inches long, and full of a kind of honey of a poisonous nature. 10. The corn, resembling wheat, in the country of the Musicani, which grew wild on a spot of ground that required not the least cultivation. 11. The great number of medicinal plants, of various qualities and colours, many of which were not to be found in any other region. 12. The cinnamon tree, shrubs bearing variety of spikenard, herbs, flowers, drugs, &c. the produce of the southern parts of India. 13. The vast number of apes or monkies, in a wood near the city of Nicæa, which upon Alexander's approach drew up in order of battle, insomuch that the Macedonians took them for a body of regular troops, and began to make the proper dispositions for an engagement; but Taxilus, who at that time attended Alexander, by discovering to them what sort of an enemy this was, put an end to the alarm. These apes were taken two ways: first, the hunters of them filled large dishes with water, and placed them near the trees the apes had posted themselves upon, and, in the sight of those animals, washed their eyes; afterwards they put some viscous matter into the dishes, instead of the water, and then retired. As these animals, therefore, are great mimics, they no sooner observed the coast clear, than they came down from the trees, and, attempting to wash their eyes as the hunters before had done, they blinded themselves, and were easily taken. Secondly, the same hunters at other times put on a sort of sack or budget, somewhat resembling trowsers, in the sight of the apes, and left others for those animals, hairy within, and besmeared with such viscous matter as that already mentioned, which they putting on, were thereby rendered incapable of making their escape. 14. The prodigious quantity of fossile salt, dug out of a mountain in the kingdom of Sopithes, sufficient to supply all India with that commodity. 15. The rich gold and silver mines mentioned by Strabo. 16. The famous breed of dogs in the kingdom of Sopithes, of which that prince gave a hundred and fifty to Alexander the Great. Four of these, in the sight of Alexander and Sopithes, were set upon a lion, and proved a match for him.

In

In the middle of the conflict, Sopithes commanded one of them to have a thigh cut off gradually, in order to force him to leave the lion; but this amputation did not oblige him to quit his hold. 17. The numerous inſtances of longevity among the Indians and the Seres, many of them attaining to a hundred and thirty, and ſeveral to two hundred years of age. 18. The tigers in the country of the Praſii, twice as big as a lion, and of ſuch ſtrength, that one of them, with his paw, could eaſily ſeize upon, and drag to him, a large mule. 19. A ſpecies of monkies bigger than dogs of the largeſt ſize, all over white, except the face, which was black; though ſometimes the face was white, and every other part black. Their tails were above two cubits long. They were extremely mild and harmleſs, never playing any miſchievous tricks. 20. The foſſile ſtones of the colour of frankincenſe, ſweeter than honey itſelf. 21. The ſerpents two cubits long, with wings like bats, that flew about in the night, and emitted ſome poiſonous drops, which cauſed the bodies of thoſe animals they fell upon to putrify. 22. An uncommon and ſurpriſing ſpecies of very large flying ſcorpions, that infeſted ſome parts of India. 23. A monſtrous and incredible ſtrong breed of dogs, that could hold faſt even a bull or a lion, and were ſo fierce, that their eyes ſometimes fell out of their heads, after they had faſtened upon thoſe animals. Theſe creatures would have been cut to pieces rather than let go their hold, as will the true bull-dogs in England. However, the Indians could diſengage them, by pouring water into their noſtrils, as we learn from Strabo. 24. The water of the river Silia, or Silias, which was of ſuch a nature, that nothing could ſwim upon it. 25. The natural honey flowing from reeds or canes, called μέλι τὸ καλάμινον and σάκχαρι by Arrian. 26. A ſpecies of ſerpents that were ſhort, black, had heads like thoſe of dragons, and eyes of the colour of blood. 27. The pearl-fiſhery in the ſouthern part of India, not far from the promontory at preſent going under the denomination of cape Comorin. 28. The diamonds, pearls, carbuncles, and other kinds of precious ſtones, that were produced in this region. 29. Some of the whales left by the tide on the ſhore in ſome of the maritime parts of India, a hundred cubits long, of whoſe bones the Indians built themſelves houſes. 30. The vaſt number of jewels found on the banks of the Aceſines and the Ganges. 31. The fountain whoſe water was as combuſtible and inflammable as oil. 32. The ebony, opals, onyxes, alabaſter, vermilion, cryſtal, amber; and the two mountains near the Indus, one of which attracted iron, and the

the other repelled it. 33. The lions, panthers, rhinoceroses, camelopardales or camel-panthers, sphinges or marmosets, cynocephali or larger kind of baboons, crocottæ or lion-wolves, and the dragons of an immense size taken notice of by Strabo. 34. The horses with a single horn in their foreheads, or unicorns, with the heads of stags. 35. The rivers that abounded with particles of gold, and enabled the neighbouring Indians to pay the taxes and duties imposed upon them. 36. The pedra de cobra, which was known to the Indians as well as the ancient Scythians, or Tartars, from the remotest antiquity [a] (M)

S E C T. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Language, Learning, and Disposition of the Indians.

THOUGH the Indians have been already deduced from Japhet in a former part of this work, yet we would there be understood of only a part of that nation. For, though it may be allowed that some of them were descended from Magog the son of Japhet, in conjunction with the Tartars and Chinese, yet it is likewise probable that many of them sprung from the other sons of Noah. That Elam settled in the country afterwards called Persia, has been fully proved; so that many of his descendents may be supposed to have pushed farther eastwards, and particularly in- *Antiquity.*

[a] Nearch. Parapl. Oxon. 1698. Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Onesicritus, Ctesias, Patrocles, Deimachus, Anacharsis, Aristoteles, et Aristobulus, apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut et ipse Strab. ibid. Plin. Nat. Hist. pass. Arrian. in Expedit. Alexand. & in Indic. pass. Curt. pass. Plutarch. in Alexand. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. & alib. Porph. de Abstinent. lib. iv. Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Erythr. pass.

(M) Besides the curiosities here mentioned, we find others taken notice of by some of the ancients, that were deservedly exploded as fabulous by Strabo. Such were the dwarfs of three and five spans high, some of whom had no noses, and others waged perpetual war with the cranes; the Enotocœtæ, whose ears were so large, that they lay upon them; the wild men about the Ganges, who had no mouths; the Ocypodes, who could outrun a horse; those men who had dogs ears, a breast covered with hair, and one eye only in the middle of their foreheads. Many more wonders of this kind occur, which existed only in the imaginations of those writers who have given us any account of them (1).

(1) Strab. Geog. lib. xv.

to the nearer eastern regions, of which India was one. Some of the posterity of Cush, if not their great progenitor himself, seated themselves in that part of Susiana still called Khuzestan, or the country of Chuz, as well as in Arabia; from whence they might easily migrate to the banks of the Indus and the Ganges. In confirmation of which opinion, it may be observed, that the Arabs have always believed the nations denominated by them Sind and Hind, which comprehend the whole body of the Indians, descended from two of the great-grandsons of Ham, of the same names. We may, therefore, reasonably enough presume that the descendents of Shem and Ham, as well as those of Japhet, contributed towards peopling the vast continent of India.

The Indians, like other nations, boasted of too high an antiquity, as we learn from Pliny. They pretended to have had a series of a hundred and fifty-three kings, between Bacchus and Alexander the Great, who reigned above five thousand four hundred years. But neither Pliny, nor any other ancient writer, has ventured to give us a list or catalogue of those kings. Such a notion as this must be allowed to be not only repugnant to sacred writ, but to the whole stream of genuine profane antiquity, and particularly to Herodotus the father of history [a].

Government. With regard to the government of the Indians, we shall not be circumstantial. That it was of the same kind with that of the most ancient Numidians, Arabs, Tartars, and Chinese, we have no reason to doubt. The Indians, for several ages, like those nations, had many petty princes among them, who exercised a sovereign authority, till at last they found themselves obliged to submit to others that were more powerful, or else voluntarily united themselves under such heads, to repel all foreign invaders. So several little sovereigns seem to have elected Chedorlaomer to preside over them, though some of these afterwards, without any just cause, withdrew their allegiance from him; for which reason, the Scripture says they rebelled. In like manner the Etruscans had twelve lucumos; but over them presided a chief, whose orders they obeyed on all extraordinary occasions. And that this kind of government prevailed in India, when Alexander the Great invaded that country, may be inferred from Arrian, Curtius, and Strabo. The princes or kings, among whom India was anciently divided, seem to have ruled with an absolute sway, since they were the sole proprietors of all the lands under

[a] Plin. lib. vi. cap. 17.

their

their respective jurisdictions, as we are informed by Diodorus and Strabo. There were several republics likewise in this country, at the time of Alexander's invasion. The Indians, as well as the Chinese, confined themselves to their own country, and always kept themselves unmixed with foreigners; so that it is no wonder they should have been governed by Indian princes, for the most part, till the time of Sandrocottus For even supposing Bacchus, or Sesac, to have made so rapid a progress in the reduction of India, as we are told he did by Diodorus Siculus, yet it does not appear from history, that any considerable part of that region was ever thoroughly subdued by, and much less continued for any time in a state of servitude to the Egyptians. Several kings reigned here in the time of Alexander the Great, though some of those princes were then very powerful, and made a noble stand against that conqueror. Nor have all the most considerable rajahs of this vast tract been subjugated by the Moguls themselves till within these few years, as will be seen in the modern history of the Indians [b].

Laws. That the ancient Indians had salutary laws, appears from what we have observed of the Catheans, in the history of the Tartars, and may be farther evinced from some good authors. But as the limits here prescribed will not permit us to be very copious on this head, we shall at present only mention the following, which are the principal. 1. The Indians were, by a particular law, divided into seven classes, or orders of men, as we learn from Diodorus and Strabo. The first of these were the philosophers; but few, in comparison of the rest: they admitted those who assisted in offering the sacrifices into their private assemblies, and the kings themselves seem to have presided in their great convention, as we shall presently have occasion to observe. The second were the husbandmen, a very numerous body of men. The shepherds and hunters formed the third class, and were likewise pretty considerable. Artificers and mechanics, particularly those who fabricated arms and constructed ships, made up the fourth. The fifth division was composed of military men, who, in time of peace, had a place assigned them to reside in, and a proper allowance granted them by the prince they served. The sixth order consisted of officers employed by the king, or his ministry, to inspect the actions and conduct of the people, and make a private report to him of their discoveries. The seventh

[b] Gen. ch. xiv. ver. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Strab. lib. xv.

division was formed by the king's privy-council, from whence justice was distributed throughout the whole community. 2. By a particular law, the philosophers were enjoined to repair to the king's palace at the beginning of the year, and there produce all their compositions, observations, and predictions, relating either to the fruits of the earth, animals, or the commonwealth. After any one of them had been proved guilty of falshood or ignorance, three times, he was silenced for life; but the others were exempted from taxes, and held in the highest veneration. 3. The husbandmen were never pressed or obliged to take on in the king's service; because they tilled the ground for the king, who was the sole proprietor of it, and who received from them the fourth part of the produce. 4. No private person was permitted to bring up either a horse, or an elephant. 5. All those animals belonged to the king of the country in which they were produced. 6. The privy counsellors were not permitted to marry in a lower family. 7. Every Indian convicted of giving false evidence was punished in the extreme parts of the body. 8. If any person deprived another of a limb, he did not only forfeit the same part himself, but had likewise his hand cut off; and to render useless either the hand or eye of an artificer, was considered as a capital crime. 9. The woman that killed a drunken king, was married to his successor; from whence we may conclude, that drunkenness was looked upon as an enormous vice among them. 10. Neither the life-guards, nor any of the king's other troops, were permitted to enter the city where he held his residence. 11. It was not lawful for the king to sleep in the day-time; and in the night he found himself obliged frequently to change his bed, to avoid the treachery of his servants. 12. In some parts of India the married women were not permitted to survive their husbands, but were burnt with their bodies, as has been already observed in the history of the Tartars. 13. Polygamy was tolerated by law among them. 14. By a particular law, the virgins who distinguished themselves in fighting at fisty-cuffs, were rewarded with husbands. 15. The privy counsellors were famed for their prudence, consummate abilities and noble extraction; and out of their body the king selected judges, generals, and all superior magistrates. 16. It seems to have been a law among them, that all their civil or political institutions should be derived from their Brachmans, or philosophers. 17. Whatever wars they might be engaged in at any time among themselves, they obliged themselves by a common law not to make

hostile

hostile incursions, to ravage the country, nor to plunder the husbandmen, whom they considered as the greatest benefactors to the public. 18. The Indians were not suffered to make any of their countrymen slaves, every one of them being considered as in a natural state of liberty. 19. They had several customs in common with some of their neighbours, which have been mentioned in other parts of this work. Nor is this circumstance to be wondered at, since the Indians were sometimes confounded with the nearest circumjacent nations by the ancients, and particularly with the Scythians, or ancient Tartars[c].

Religion. The principal objects of religious worship among the Indians, in the earlier ages, were Jupiter, or Jupiter Ammon, and Bacchus; in which particulars they agreed with the Egyptians, Arabs, and other nations. Hercules and Pluto had likewise divine honours paid them. The Indians also worshipped a deity representing Jupiter Pluvialis, Pan, the river Ganges, and a sort of gods answering to the Dii Indigetes of the Romans. These were a kind of genii, or inferior deities, in high repute all over India. Their power was supposed to extend over this lower world, and in particular over man.

Whatever species of idolatry might at first have prevailed among the Indians, it is probable, that, after Cambyses conquered Egypt, the priests, being obliged to abandon that country, found their way into India, where they planted and propagated the Egyptian superstition. The hieroglyphic representations of the Egyptian deities, which the aforesaid priests introduced into this vast region, undoubtedly gave birth to those monstrous figures, or images, of their false gods, that are still the objects of adoration in India. As a farther demonstration of what is here advanced, it may be observed, that the Indians still preserve some traces of the worship of Isis and Osiris, that anciently prevailed among the Egyptians[d].

The Brahmans, Brachmans, or philosophers, were not only the priests of the Indians, but likewise the principal counsellors and directors of their kings. They, therefore, served their country both in a civil and religious capacity, as did the Magi among the Persians. The Indians looked upon these Brahmans as the greatest favourites of heaven, and as men perfectly acquainted with every thing

[c] Nearch. Parapl. Oxon. 1698. Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Onesicritus, Ctesias, aliique apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipse Strabo, ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Plin. pass. Arrian. in Expedit. Alexand. in Indic. & in Peripl. Mar. Erythr. Curt. Plut. in Alex. [d] Athanas. Kircher. Chin. illustrat. par. iii.

that paſſed in the infernal regions, or related to the kingdóm of Pluto [e].

However, the Greek and Latin authors have not all entertained the ſame ſentiments of theſe Indian ſages. They have been conſidered as diſtinct from the Gymnoſophiſts by Ptolemy, who places the Brachmans, whom he calls Magi, in a ſouthern diſtrict of India, between the rivers Solenus and Chaberus, not far from the ſea; whereas he aſſigns the Gymnoſophiſts a ſituation in the north eaſtern part of that country, near the weſtern bank of the Ganges. On the contrary, that the Gymnoſophiſts were divided into two branches or ſects, the Brachmans and the Germanes, we find aſſerted by Megaſthenes in Strabo. Diodorus, in one place, repreſents the Philoſophers of India who were the Brachmans of Megaſthenes, as equivalent to the prieſts of other nations. Whereas, in another paſſage, he conſiders them as a ſeparate nation, ſect, or body of men, ſettled in one particular part of India. Arrian fixes the Brachmans among the Malli and the Muſicani; and Pliny ſays the word Brachman was the surname of many nations. Porphyry affirms the Gymnoſophiſts to have been divided into two ſects, the Brachmans and the Samanæi; and that of the Brachmans, ſome lived in a mountainous tract, and others about the Ganges. Arrian, Apuleius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Plutarch differ in ſeveral particulars relating to theſe Indian ſages; though they all ſeem to agree in celebrating their love of divine wiſdom, their knowlege, their abſtemious way of life, and ſingular temperance, in fine, their contempt of all the good, as well as bad things of this world, ſo much deſired, or dreaded, by the bulk of mankind.

The Brahmans were not ſo much a diſtinct nation, or particular claſs of philoſophers, as a tribe or ſet of men, or rather a numerous family, deſcended from one common anceſtor, different from the progenitors of the people among whom they lived. They were a body of men that we may conſider as ſimilar to the Fabian, Cornelian, or Claudian families in ancient Rome, deducing their origin from Brahma, the firſt of the three beings whom God created, and by whoſe means he afterwards formed the world. That Brahma ſhould be the Supreme Being, as M. Bayer aſſerts, is too abſurd to be ſuppoſed; and that he was Abraham, has been allowed by ſome of the beſt Jewiſh

[e] Diod. Sic. & Strab. ubi ſup. Plut. in Alex. Arrian. de Expedit. Alexand. in Indic. & Peripl. Mar. Erythr. Porphyr. de Abſtinent. lib. iv.

writers,

writers, as well as Shahrestani, an Arab author of great repute. Dr. Hyde likewise offers some ingenious conjectures in defence of this notion [f].

Postellus takes these Brahmans to have been descended from Abraham by his wife Keturah, and believes that the true religion prevailed long among them; and, indeed, from the accounts given us of them by the ancients, it seems to appear, that they acknowleged one Supreme Being, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Nay, it farther appears, that some of them worshipped this Supreme Being with great fervency and devotion, prayed constantly to him, and despised every thing in this world for his sake. Be that as it may, they were celebrated all over the ancient world for their wisdom and austerity of life, and proposed as a pattern for imitation to nations of greater politeness than the Indians. Pythagoras studied their doctrine and manners, and received his notion of the transmigration of souls, or metempsychosis, from them. A famous Brahman, named Behergir, communicated to the Mohammedans, whose religion he embraced, the Amberthkend, which contains the doctrines of the Indians. The modern Brahmans say, that Brahma left to the Indians the four books which they call Beth, or Bed, in which all the sciences, and all the ceremonies of religion are comprised; and for this reason they represent that supposed deity with four heads. Some of the ancients intimate, that they thought it highly criminal to deprive any, even the most inconsiderable animal, of life; in which opinion, they are followed by the modern Brahmans. They formerly assumed to themselves the prerogative of teaching and instructing others; they differed from the Gymnosophists, and particularly the Samanæi, in this, that they were all of the same family, whereas the others might have belonged to any family, or Indian tribe [g].

Some of the most remarkable customs of the Indians will merit a place here; and such were the following. 1. The Indians, and particularly the Oxydracæ, celebrated the feasts of Bacchus in a pompous manner; and their princes imitated the order of that conqueror's march into *Customs.*

f Iidem. ibid. Th. Sig. Bayer. Element. Brahmanic. Tangutan. Mungalic. in Comment. Acad. Petropolitan. tom. iv. p. 290, 291. Petropoli, 1735. Al Shahrestan. in Calce lib. de Religion. Ind. Vide etiam Thom. Hyde Hist Relig. Veter. Persar. p. 31, 32.
g Postellus in Comment. ad Jezir. Megasthenes apud Strabon. ubi sup. ut et ipse Strab. ibid. Arrian. Plutarch. Porphyr. Clem. Alexand. Apuleius, Philostrat. & Pall[illegible], ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 212.

India, till Alexander's invasion of that country. 2. According to Diodorus Siculus, the Indians had their first harvest about the summer solstice, and their second a little before the beginning of the winter. 3. They extracted great quantities of a sweet substance from a cane, probably the same as the modern sugar-cane, which Arrian calls the honey of reeds and sugar. 4. The Catheans always chose the most handsome person among them for their King, according to Onesicritus in Strabo. 5. Many of the Indians painted their beards with a variety of vivid colours, which they took to be very graceful and ornamental. 6. The Musicani, in their frugality, manner of eating, and other points, resembled the Lacedæmonians. 7. Many of the Indians made no use of gold and silver, though their country abounded with them. 8. They did not apply themselves to the military art, which they considered as unlawful, as destructive of the repose and tranquility of mankind. 9. The shepherds and hunters lived in tents, not approaching the cities and towns, and were maintained at the king's expence. 10. They had a particular method of hunting elephants, which has been described at large by Strabo. 11. Though some writers make the Indian kings the sole proprietors of all the horses and elephants in their dominions, yet others are of a different opinion, and assert the Indians to have yoked them as they did camels, and that a lover could not have made his mistress a more acceptable present than an elephant. 12. The ephori, or officers who inspected the people's conduct, arrived at the knowlege of many secret transactions by the assistance of several strumpets, whom they employed to get them intelligence, both in cities and camps. 13. They kept the highways in good repair, and at the end of every ten stadia erected a sort of pillar, which pointed out to travellers the different roads, and the distances of places from one another. 14. They had officers, whose business it was to take care that the rivers were kept clean, and confined within their banks; that the people were duly supplied with water, and had the lands properly divided amongst them, as in Egypt; that the hunters, farmers, and artificers did their duty; and that the king's revenue was regularly collected. 15. They paid a great regard to strangers, and had persons whose sole employment was to supply them with every thing they wanted, both in sickness and in health. 16. The officers appointed to regulate every thing relating to the government of their cities, were divided into six classes, every one of which consisted of five members; as were also those to whom was committed the management and direction of military

military affairs. 17. They rode their elephants without bridles, and had their carts and waggons drawn by oxen. 18. As their country produced no grapes, except a few that were wild, and unfit for use, in the territories of the Musicani, they never drank any wine, except at their sacrifices, and that was made of rice. 19. Many lived upon a sort of liquid food made of rice, and some of them upon the herbs of the field, and water only, particularly the Gymnosophists. 20. Some of the Indians did not dine and sup together, nor at any stated hour. 21. They took great pleasure in rubbing their naked bodies with flesh-brushes; which practice might probably be considered by them as a very salubrious exercise. 22. They had few pompous funerals, or splendid sepulcral monuments erected among them. 23. Their attire was very rich, adorned with gold, silver, and a great variety of precious stones. 24. They did not honour old men, except they were prudent and virtuous, thinking that such only ought to be treated with any marks of distinction. 25. Many of the Indians bought young women of their parents, for a pair of oxen a-piece, in order to marry them, some for conveniency, and others for the sake of issue. 26. They did not cut the throats of their victims, but stifled or suffocated them, that they might be offered whole to the deity for whom they were intended. 27. When the king went a hunting, he was surrounded with a large body of women, some of whom were mounted on elephants, others on horses, and others rode in chariots. 28. Some of the Indians bordering on mount Caucasus are said to have used their women in the open streets without shame, and to have fed upon the flesh of their relations; but that these were Scythian customs, we learn from Herodotus. 29. Several of the Indians hunted monkies, or marmosets, and drove them down precipices; but sometimes those animals made head against, and threw large stones at their pursuers. 30. The poorer sort of people among the Taxillæ, or Taxili, an Indian tribe, exposed their daughters naked to public view, in order to get them husbands, according to Strabo. 31. In some parts of India, most of the women voluntarily burnt themselves with the bodies of their deceased husbands; and those who did not sacrifice themselves in this manner, entirely lost their reputation. 32. Several of the Indians had wives whom they lent to their neighbours; and suffered their dead to be devoured by vulturs. Besides these, other customs prevailed among the Indians, that coincided with some of those practised by the neighbouring nations, of which we have already

ready given a full and ample account in other parts of this work [h].

Language. That the modern Persic tongue was also nearly related to the Indian, seems to be owned by some of the greatest men who have launched out of late into the vast ocean of ancient literature, especially that branch of it relating to the old languages of Asia. The old Indians had a great variety of dialects, some of which differed much from others. M. La Croze discovered no small affinity between the old Persic and modern Armenian languages; both of which, probably, in many points, agreed with the ancient Indian. But we shall not dwell upon this topic, since almost every thing that has been said of the primitive language of the Tartars, or Scythians, is applicable to that of the Indians [i].

That the ancient Indians had no letters, or alphabetic characters, seems to appear from Strabo, though that author is not quite consistent with himself in this particular. But, notwithstanding what he has alleged in favour of this notion, from the account he gives us of the Indians, it seems extremely probable, that, in the time of Alexander the Great, they were not void of letters, or at least of some sort of characters, which enabled them to communicate their ideas to one another with great facility. To wave other arguments, the characters on the Old Persic and Median coins amount to a very strong presumption, that such characters were not unknown to the Indians [k].

The learned M. Bayer has observed, that the present Brahmanic characters were deduced from the Estrangelo (N) letters,

[h] Nearch. Parapl. edit. Oxon. 1698. Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, Onesicritus, aliique apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. Herodot. lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Plin. pass. Arrian in Expedit. Alexand. in Indic. & in Peripl. Mar. Erythr. pass. Curt. Plutarch. in Alex. pass. Palladius, Philostrat. Clem. Alex. et Apuleius, ubi supra. [i] G. G. Leibnitius in Syllab. Dissertat. Philologic. a Joan. Chamberlayn. edit. p. 23. Amst. 1715. Arrian. Reland. ibid. [k] Strab. ubi sup. G. G. Leibnit. et Reland. ubi sup.

(N) That the Arabs, in the time of Antigonus, one of Alexander's successors, used the Syrian, or Assyrian letters, we learn from Diodorus Siculus. For they sent a letter to that prince written in the Syrian character, according to this author, as we have observed in the history of the Arabs. These letters we take to have been those now called the Estrangelo, or rather the Mendæan, from whence the others were derived which still subsist in the East. That they were the Assyrian letters used by the Persians in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, and even before that reign, according to Herodotus, cannot,

ters, introduced into India either by the Jacobites or Neſtorians, in the time of Jenghîz Khân. As, therefore, the Eſtrangelo character was derived from the Mendæan, which is apparently deducible from the primigenial Hebrew alphabet, the Indians have ſtill the iſſue of the firſt letters among them. Even the Malabaric characters themſelves are the offspring of theſe primæval letters. From hence it ſeems to appear, that the ſquare or Aſſyrian letters were the true primigenial letters of the Eaſt[1].

With regard to the learning of the ancient Indians, we have not much to ſay. Phyſic ſeems to have been their favourite art. They were likewiſe verſed in necromancy and incantations. Their phyſicians did not ſo much deal in pharmacy as in the dietetic part of phyſic. Unguents and cataplaſms they frequently preſcribed, but concerned themſelves with few other medicines. Natural philoſophy we muſt not ſuppoſe them to have been entirely unacquainted with, ſince this is ſo nearly related to phyſic; and ſince the Indians were no ſtrangers to the ſalutary and noxious qualities of ſeveral herbs. That they were likewiſe capable of preparing poiſons in the earlier ages, appears from Strabo, who informs us, that, in one part of India, a law was made, to deter women from poiſoning their huſbands. Some of the Indians cultivated the mathematical ſciences; but at what degree of perfection they arrived in them, we cannot pretend to ſay. They agreed with the Greeks in their ſentiments of the creation and diſſolution of the world, the ſituation of the earth, the nature of the ſtars and heavens, the ſuperintendency of the Supreme Being over every part of the creation, his pervaſion and permeation of the univerſe, the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. In fine, the moſt ancient Brahmans ſeem to have had not only a good ſhare of human learning, but likewiſe to have been well verſed in the principles of natural religion; though, in proceſs of time, their ſucceſſors, by adopting the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, and others equally abſurd, greatly deviated from truth; and the nations to whom they belong are now *Learning.*

[1] Hyde Hiſt. Relig. Veter. Perſar. p. 523, 524. Maturinus Veyſſiere la Croze apud Chamberlayn. ubi ſupra, p. 127, 128. 130. Th. Sig. Bayer. in Comment. Acad. Petropolitan. tom. vi. p. 125—189. Petropoli, 1738.

cannot, as we apprehend, be denied. From whence it will follow, that the old Perſian, Aſſyrian, Syrian, Arab, Mendæan, or Chaldean, letters, were the ſame.

totally

totally immersed in a most gross and multifarious idolatry [m].

Disposition. The genius and disposition of the ancient Indians we shall describe in few words. That they were extremely ingenious, and capable of arriving at the last degree of perfection in the mechanical arts, appears from the authors cited by Strabo. They were great lovers and admirers of learning, as the marks of distinction with which they honoured first their Gymnosophists, and secondly their physicians, evidently prove. Their great hospitality, and love of truth, from what has been observed of them above, are abundantly conspicuous; as are also their probity, temperance, and frugality. That the men and other animals of India were larger than those to be met with in other regions, was an opinion which prevailed among the ancients, though we dare not affirm that it was built upon a solid foundation. It may not be improper to observe here, that many of the Indians were as black as the Ethiopians, though the hair, features, and air of those nations were not a little different. That they had a genius, as well as a taste, for commerce, appears from Arrian, who intimates, that they carried on a very considerable trade with the Arabs, and several other nations. From whence we may conclude, as well as from the express testimonies of several ancient writers, that, had the Indians been under the domination of one prince, they might have erected a most potent and formidable empire.

SECT. III.

The History of the Indians, from the earliest Account of Time to the Invasion of their Country by Mahmud Gazni.

Ctesias, a fabulous writer. NO part of so remote a country as India could have been tolerably peopled till several centuries after the dispersion; so that little credit is due to the history of the war between Semiramis and Stabrobates king of India, transmitted to us by Ctesias: we shall here, therefore, only observe, especially as a full and ample account of that war has been already given, that Semiramis was defeated by

m Clem. Alex. Porphyr. Philostrat. Apul. ubi sup. Hyd. Hist. Relig. Veter. Persar. p. 31. Athanas. Kircher. Chin. Illustrat. par. iii. Banier's Explicat. of the Mythol. and Fab. of the Anc. book ii. chap. 8.

the Indian monarch, and, after having loſt above two millions of men, obliged to repaſs the Indus. That prince, according to Cteſias, conſtructed four thouſand veſſels, which appeared upon the Indus, to oppoſe Semiramis's fleet, and brought into the field a more numerous army than that of the Aſſyrians. It is true, this fabulous author intimates, that Stabrobates defeated Semiramis by the vigorous efforts of his elephants, which ſeem to have had the principal ſhare in the laſt action; but, notwithſtanding this, he plainly aſſerts the Indian forces to have been ſtronger than thoſe of the Aſſyrians. From whence it will follow, that, about two or three hundred years after the flood, the remote nation of the Indians aſſembled an army of above three millions of men [n].

That ſuch a ſtrange aſſertion as this ſhould be admitted by a deiſt, in order to diſcredit revealed religion, is not ſo difficult to be conceived, becauſe perſons of that complexion, to carry their point, will boggle at no abſurdity. But that Chriſtian writers, and thoſe too of the moſt profound erudition, ſhould implicitly aſſent to it, and even to the authority of Herodotus prefer that of Cteſias, is real matter of ſurprize. For Herodotus may juſtly be ſtyled the father of hiſtory, and agrees better with ſacred writ than any other profane hiſtorian; whereas it will be difficult to find a more romantic and fabulous author than Cteſias, in the whole circle of antiquity [o].

Nor is this a new notion, though it has been much inſiſted upon of late, eſpecially ſince the publication of Sir Iſaac Newton's incomparable ſyſtem of chronology. The truth of it ſeems to have been known to, and even acknowledged by, Strabo. For Megaſthenes, of whoſe ſentiments in this point he entirely approves, ſays, that all the ancient relations of expeditions into India, except thoſe of Bacchus, Hercules, and Alexander the Great, carry with them not the leaſt air of probability. And yet this Megaſthenes was credulous enough, and dealt pretty much in fiction, as appears from Strabo. But it ſeems, that the aforeſaid abſurdity of Cteſias was too large even for him to ſwallow.

With regard to Bacchus's invaſion of India, that is not a little involved in fable. However, it had doubtleſs a real and certain foundation. That Bacchus, or as Sir Iſaac Newton will have it, Seſac, was potent at ſea, advanced as far as the Indus, and conquered part of the tract about

[n] Cteſias apud Diod. Sic. Biblioth. Hiſtor. lib. ii. p. 90—95.
[o] See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology of Ancient Nations amended.

that

that river, is a fact as well supported as any can be at such a distance of time. But that he subdued all India, lived any considerable time there, and erected a powerful monarchy in that country, will not be so readily admitted by any one well versed in ancient history. But yet, improbable as this is, it seems to approach nearer the truth than the foregoing absurd relation of Ctesias. For, according to Pliny, the Indians had a list of kings who reigned in their country from the time of Bacchus to that of Alexander the Great [p].

Bacchus founded a monarchy in India.

Bacchus, or rather Sesac, before he left India, is said by Arrian to have settled Spartembas, one of his most intimate friends, on the throne. That prince reigned fifty-two years; but nothing remarkable of him has been transmitted down to us, except that he was extremely well versed in the sacred rites of Bacchus, who was deified before his departure out of India. Budyas, the son of Spartembas, succeeded him, and reigned twenty years; but we find nothing memorable related of him. Cradeuas ascended the throne after his father Budyas, between whom and Hercules, the Indians, according to Arrian, had a series of kings, who reigned in continual succession. It has been already observed from Aristides, that, in those early times, India made a surprising figure; though the description he has given us of the Indian monarch's power in such remote ages, must undoubtedly be considered as hyperbolical.

The Indians civilized by Bacchus.

Before the arrival of Bacchus, the Indians led a pastoral life, strangers to agriculture, and the use of arms. But that prince is said to have taught them these, and to have likewise introduced the worship of the gods, and particularly that of himself, among them. He made them acquainted also with drums and cymbals, which they used in their engagements, as well as the public worship of Bacchus, till the time of Alexander the Great [q].

The Indians believed Hercules to have lived several ages after Bacchus; but that notion has been exploded by Sir Isaac Newton, and is most certainly repugnant to what we find advanced by the best profane authors That he conquered India, and reigned there, may be inferred from Megasthenes; though the exploits both of Bacchus and Hercules in this country were considered as fictious by Eratosthenes, and other ancient writers cited by Strabo. Arrian

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. ii. Strab. lib. xv. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 17. Arrian. in Indic. Newt. ubi sup. [q] Arrian. in Indic. Aristid. Orat. in Bacch. Dict. Strab. lib. xv.

says,

says, that Hercules had many sons, and one daughter called Pandæa, who communicated her name to the province in which she was born. The same author also informs us, that Bacchus, or Dionysus, preceded Hercules fifteen ages, and Sandrocottus above six thousand years. But in this, as well as other points relating to those heroes, he merits not the least attention [r].

Sesac, Sesostris, or Bacchus, penetrated to the Ganges.

That Sesac, or Sesostris, extended his conquests to the banks of the Indus, and even reduced part of the country to the east of that river, is attested by some good authors. That he erected two pillars on the mountains near the mouths of the Ganges, with inscriptions containing relations of his great atchievements, we find asserted by the ancients. Having coasted Arabia Felix in his father's life-time, he sailed beyond the Persian gulph, passed by all the southern maritime provinces of India intra Gangem, and at last arrived near the mouths of the Ganges, which seem to have been the eastern limits of his naval expeditions. He, therefore, probably made himself master of, and planted colonies in several of the southern districts of India intra Gangem; which, for some time, might have remained in a state of subjection to him. But that this was really the case, we must not presume to affirm; though it by no means appears to us improbable. For, according to Apollonius Rhodius, and his scholiast, Sesonchosis, or Sesac, invaded all Asia, as well as a great part of Europe, and PEOPLED MANY CITIES which he took. Æa in particular, the metropolis of Colchis, received a colony of Egyptians from him. So that some of the Indians may possibly have been descended from the ancient Egyptians. Josephus intimates, that Joktan's descendents occupied the tract about the river Cophen. According to Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Joktan the son of Eber, or, as the Arabs call him, Kahtan, had thirty-one sons by the same wife, of whom all but two settled in India. But the Arab traditions, relating to events of so remote an antiquity, are not at all to be depended upon.

The Egyptian empire extended to India.

That the Egyptian empire was contiguous to India, if it did not comprehend some part of that country, in the days of Memnon, or Amenophis, about nine hundred years before the birth of Christ, we learn from Strabo. Nor can we doubt the truth of this assertion, when it is considered, that this author derived his intelligence from the fountain-head, that is, from the Egyptian inscriptions on some obelisks above the Memnonium. And Tacitus tells us, in sup-

[r] Newton's Chron. ch. ii. p. 191—265. Megasthenes, Eratosthenes, aliique Scriptor. Antiq. apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipse Strab. ibid. Arrian. ubi sup.

port of what has been advanced by Strabo, that such an inscription was seen at Thebes by Cæsar Germannicus.

The king of India sends a solemn embassy to Cyaxares and Cyrus

We are informed by Zonaras, that the king of India, or rather one of the kings of that country, sent ambassadors to Cyaxares king of the Medes, to offer his mediation, in order to accommodate the differences subsisting between that prince and the Assyrians. The same author also relates, that an Indian monarch soon after dispatched several deputies to Cyrus, with some money for his use, and an offer of what farther sums he should want at that conjuncture. That monarch likewise ordered these ambassadors to obey Cyrus's commands in all points whatsoever. From whence we may infer, that neither Cyrus nor Cyaxares had got any considerable footing in India, about twenty years before the dissolution of the Babylonian empire, notwithstanding what has been insinuated to the contrary by Abu'l-Faraj.

Cyrus's dominions terminated on the east by the Indus.

From this time to the reduction of Babylon by Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, we scarce find any mention made of India by the ancients. That prince extended his frontiers as far as the Indus, and probably India intra Gangem might not have been entirely free from his excursions: but that he never made any considerable impression upon this country, may be reasonably presumed. For that India was scarce known to, and consequently not subjugated by, even his successor Cambyses, from what follows, will most clearly appear [a].

Part of India conquered by Darius Hystaspis.

The Persians knew so little of India in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, that they were not acquainted with the tract where the Indus discharges itself into the Indian ocean. Darius, therefore, employed the famous Scylax of Caryanda to discover the mouths of that river. This discovery being effected, that prince subdued a considerable part of India, and soon became lord of the Indian ocean. However, that he did not subjugate the whole region, appears from hence, that only the northern Indians, resembling the Bactrians in most particulars, and consequently bordering upon them, were his subjects. These, indeed, he reduced, annexed the territory they possessed to the Persian empire, and exacted an exceeding large tribute from them. They were obliged to pay three hundred and sixty talents of gold annually into Darius's treasury.

And preserved by Xerxes.

His successor Xerxes had a body of Indian troops to attend him in his Grecian expedition. The infantry were covered with a sort of wooden armour, carrying bows and

[a] Prid. Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test. vol. i. p. 121. Lond. 1716.

arrows,

arrows made of cane, and having the latter tipped with iron. The cavalry were armed in the same manner. They had also led horses, and chariots drawn by horses and wild asses. The foot were commanded by Pharnazathres the son of Artabates; but whose orders the horse obeyed, we are not told. The Indian wild asses were creatures of vast strength, and incredible swiftness. No mention of elephants is made by Herodotus on this occasion, though they were military animals among the Indians, whose country produced vast numbers of them. As Pharnazathres and Artabates are apparently Persian or Median names, it is plain that the Indian troops acted under the conduct of a Persian or Median general, and not one of their own countrymen; a circumstance which renders it highly probable, that these last were then dependent upon the Persians[a].

As also by Artaxerxes Longimanus.

That the Persian empire was of the same extent after Artaxerxes Longimanus ascended the throne as in the time of his father Xerxes, may be collected from Scripture. The Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, and the Artaxerxes Longimanus of profane authors, were undoubtedly the same prince. Now Ahasuerus, and consequently Artaxerxes Longimanus, reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over a hundred and seven-and-twenty provinces, as we learn from the aforesaid book of Esther. So that, as the number of satrapies or provinces in the reigns of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes did not exceed that here mentioned by the sacred writer, the Persian empire under Artaxerxes Longimanus was of the same extent with that under his two immediate predecessors. From whence it will follow, that several of the Indian cantons, even those subdued by Darius Hystaspis, remained in a state of subjection to the Persians, whilst Artaxerxes Longimanus sat upon the throne.

And by his two immediate successors.

Though we find little, if any thing, said of the Indians during the reigns of Darius Nothus and Artaxerxes Mnemon, yet there is scarce any doubt to be made but that those princes preserved all the eastern part of their dominions, and consequently those provinces of India conquered by Darius Hystaspis. That Artaxerxes Mnemon had some Indian curiosities presented to him, probably by the natives of the country from whence they came, appears from Ctesias, if any credit is due to that fabulous historian. He

[a] Herodot. lib. vii. Ctesias Cnidius apud Photium, p. 153, 154. Strab. lib. xv. Agatharchides Cnidius apud Photium, p. 1331. Rothomagi, 1653.

tells us, that he received as presents from Artaxerxes Mnemon, and his mother Parysatis, two swords made of iron, found at the bottom of a lake in India, which, being fixed in the ground, prevented or drove away all storms, tempests, and whirlwinds. He also relates, that the same lake, or fountain, produced liquid gold, of which a great quantity was drawn out yearly for the use of Artaxerxes. Now, though these relations must be looked upon as fabulous in the main, yet we may be allowed to infer from thence, that Artaxerxes Mnemon had presents, and a quantity of gold, sent him annually out of India; a circumstance which amounts to a sufficient proof, that part of this country was subject to him [t].

As also by Darius Codomannus.

The Persians kept possession of the Indian provinces conquered by Darius Hystaspis, during the reigns of Ochus, Arses, and Darius Codomannus, as may be inferred from Curtius. For that author informs us, that, before the battle of the Granicus, Darius was joined by his troops drawn from the most eastern part of the empire, among which appeared a body of Indians. From hence it seems likewise, that some at least of the Indian princes and states conquered by Alexander were under the protection, if not the dominion, of the Persian monarch, even when the Macedonian pushed his conquests almost as far as the banks of the Ganges.

Alexander advances to the Indus.

After Alexander the Great had put a period to the Persian empire, and made himself master of the greater part of Asia, he meditated farther conquests. Having passed Mount Caucasus, as his soldiers called it, he advanced towards the Indus. Upon his arrival at Alexandria, a new city founded by himself, he sent advice to Taxiles, and other princes on this side the Indus, of his approach. Those princes, finding themselves incapable of making head against so formidable a power, in obedience to his commands, met him upon their frontiers, where he gave them a most gracious reception. But Astes, a rajah or Indian prince, whose territory Peucelaotis lay between the Cophen and the Indus, endeavouring to obstruct Alexander's march, was slain by Hephæstion, and his capital city Peucela taken, after a siege of thirty days. The government of the place was given to Sangæus, an Indian nobleman, who had refused to concur with Astes, and, to avoid his resentment, had fled to Taxiles.

[t] Ctesias Cnidius apud Photium, p. 144. Philostrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. iii.

However

However, Alexander did not enter India without oppofition. He met with fome obftruction from the Afpii, Thyræi, and Arafaci; and with no fmall difficulty paffed the Choafpes. From thence he moved to the Euafpla, defeated the Afpii, and paffed that river. Afterwards he overthrew the Affaceni, paffed the river Guræus, and obliged Maffaga, the capital of the Affaceni, to furrender, after a vigorous defence. The Indians behaved with fuch bravery, that the Macedonian found all his courage and military fkill neceffary, and was himfelf wounded, in the fiege. Then he reduced Bazira, Orobatis, Peucelaotis, Embolima, with the mountainous poft Aornus, which was faid to have baffled the efforts even of Hercules himfelf. Thefe conquefts opened him a paffage, through the territory of the Affaceni, to the weftern bank of the Indus [u]. *And is joined by Taxiles.*

The difunion of the Indian princes, and their quarrels among themfelves, rendered the conqueft of that country more eafy to Alexander than he would otherwife have found it. The true reafon of Taxiles's fubmiffion to Alexander feems to have been his enmity to Porus, a famous Indian prince, whofe territories lay on the other fide of the Hydafpes. This enmity paved the way to Alexander's reduction of a confiderable part of India. That prince paffed the Indus over a bridge of boats prepared for him by Hephæftion and Perdiccas, without oppofition. Upon his arrival in India, Taxiles joined him with a body of feven hundred horfe and five thoufand foot. Abifarus, a very potent Indian prince, and Doxoreas, an Indian rajah, made their fubmiffion to him. The deputies fent by the former of thofe princes to Alexander informed him, that their mafter kept two dragons, one of eighty, and the other of a hundred and forty cubits long: but this article, tranfcribed from Onefícritus, feems to have been exploded as fabulous by Strabo.

Taxiles, or Taxifus, with his troops, was of great fervice to Alexander, after he had paffed the Indus; and, perhaps, had it not been for his affiftance, the Macedonian could not have penetrated farther into India. However, the army did not look with a favourable eye upon Alexander's munificence to him. Among Abifarus's ambaffadors were his brother, and many perfons of the firft diftinction. Had he not fubmitted, he might have not a little embaraffed the Macedonian affairs, as his kingdom was a mountainous tract. Upon Alexander's approach to *Porus makes preparations to difpute the paffage of the Indus.*

[u] Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 24, 25. Strab. lib. xv.

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the Hydaspes, he received advice, that Porus, a very potent Indian prince, had assembled all his forces, with an intention to dispute the passage of that river [x].

The war between Alexander and Porus.

Porus's kingdom was terminated on the west by the Hydaspes; and consequently that river was contiguous to one part of his dominions. Alexander's good fortune still attending him, he happily passed the river, notwithstanding the preparations made by Porus to oppose him. Soon after his arrival on the eastern bank, he defeated that prince's son, who was killed in the action; and, in a little time, overthrew Porus himself, who, however, behaved with great conduct and bravery. Alexander had before experienced the valour and intrepidity of the Indian troops at the battle of Guagamela, when the Indian cavalry penetrated through his centre, and fell in upon the Macedonian baggage: and he had now a fresh instance of their undaunted resolution. They were, in strength and bravery, much superior to the Persians; so that, had the rajahs united their forces to make head against the Macedonian conqueror, he would probably have soon been obliged to abandon all thoughts of making himself master of India. Nor would the passage of the Hydaspes have been effected, at least without a great effusion of blood, had not Alexander been favoured by a storm, which prevented the enemy from discovering his march. The Macedonian also imposed upon Porus by a stratagem, which rendered that prince less attentive to his motions. But of these, and other transactions relative to Alexander's war with Porus, our readers will find a full and particular account in the history of the Macedonians.

Porus submits to Alexander.

Though Porus sustained a very considerable loss in the late unfortunate action, he could not for some time be persuaded to surrender himself to Alexander, but persisted in his resolution to continue the war. However, he was at last prevailed upon by one Meroe, an Indian in Alexander's service, for whom he seems to have had a particular regard, to submit himself to fortune, and to a generous victor, such as Alexander was represented to him. Nor did he lose any thing by this submission; but, on the contrary, was a considerable gainer by it: for Alexander immediately gave him his liberty, and restored him shortly after to his kingdom, to which he annexed other provinces almost equal to it in value. To perpetuate the memory of his victory, that prince ordered two cities to be erected.

x Arrian ubi supra. Onesicritus apud Strabon. lib. xv. ut & ipse Strab. ibid.

The

The first of these stood on the field of battle, and was named Nicæa, in allusion to the aforesaid glorious event: it seems to have been the same with that built by Alexander to the memory of his famous dog Peritas, according to Plutarch. The other was situated on this side of the Hydaspes, and had the name Bucephala given it by him, in honour of his horse Bucephalus, which died here of old age. The Glausæ, according to Ptolemy, or, as Aristobulus will have it, the Glaucanicæ, whose country was replenished with cities, towns, and populous villages, he obliged to acknowlege Porus for their king. He then accepted of a present from Abissares, a neighbouring Indian prince, whom he directed to repair to him in person. He afterwards reduced the Assaceni, who had revolted from him, and advanced to the Acesines. This river, being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, and having great rocks in the midst of its channel, he passed with much difficulty. Porus, another Indian king, whose territories lay on the other side of the river, receiving advice of Alexander's arrival, abandoned his dominions, which the Macedonian took immediate possession of; but, before this could be effectually done, he found himself obliged to pass the Hydraotes, another Indian river to the east of the Acesines. This kingdom he gave also to the other Porus, his friend and ally. Nor could the Cathei, Oxydracæ, and Malli, the most warlike nations in India, who were confederated against him, and had assembled a numerous army, stop the progress of his arms. For he overthrew them in the field, put many of them to the sword, and took the city of Sangala, the capital of the Cathei, by storm. In this bloody action, seventeen thousand Indians were killed, and seventy-five thousand taken prisoners, together with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horse. The neighbouring Indian cantons, for the most part abandoned their cities, and fled into the mountains. Upon which, Alexander sent detachments of horse to scour the roads, who cut five hundred aged, infirm, and wounded people, they met with, to pieces. He also rased Sangala, and gave the territory to the few Indians who before had submitted to him.

Alexander cannot prevail upon his army to advance to the Ganges.

Such a torrent of success inflamed this hero with a desire of passing the Hyphasis, and carrying his victorious arms even to the banks of the Ganges. To which enterprize he was likewise farther excited by the description he had received from the Indians about him of the countries between those two rivers: for he was told, that they were in themselves extremely rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants

were not only a very martial people, but also very civilized; that they were governed by the nobility, who were themselves subject to the laws; and that therefore they would, in all probability, fight bravely to maintain their independency, and in defence of the blessings they enjoyed. But he did not find the same ardor in his own troops: on the contrary, they discovered an invincible aversion to such an expedition. The battle with Porus, according to Plutarch, had taken off the edge of their courage, and made them unwilling to concern themselves any farther with the Indians; especially when they heard, that, beyond the Ganges, the kings of the Gangarides and Prasians had drawn together eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. And yet Androcottus, or Sandrocottus, who afterwards conquered all those kings, often said, that, if Alexander had pursued his design, he would in all likelihood have succeeded, the supreme monarch then reigning in the tract between the Hyphasis and the Ganges being hated for his cruelty, and despised for the meanness of his birth. Be that, however, as it may, Alexander, not being able to prevail upon the army to obey his orders, dropped the enterprize he had formed, and came to a resolution to make the Hyphasis the boundary of his conquests. Having, therefore, erected twelve altars on the other side of that river, caused sacrifices to be offered on them, and exhibited public shews after the Greek manner, he began his march for the Hydraotes [y].

He returns to the Hydaspes.

It has been already observed, that Abissares, whose territories bordered upon those of Porus, received an order from Alexander to repair to the Macedonian camp. But this prince sent deputies to excuse himself on account of sickness; which excuse Alexander was pleased to accept, as the Indian king had sent the thirty elephants which he had promised, and offered to submit to whatever terms should be imposed upon him. However, Arsaces, president of the province adjoining to his kingdom, had orders to inspect his conduct, so that the Macedonian conqueror seemed to entertain some suspicion of the sincerity of his intentions. How Porus and Abissares were affected towards each other, we are not told; but it is probable, that the latter was tributary to the former; since Alexander settled the tribute that Abissares should pay, before his departure out of India, and, as we apprehend, made Porus

y Arrian. Strab. & Plut. ubi sup. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Just. lib. xv. Curt. lib. viii.

a pre-

a present of the greatest part at least of his Indian conquests. Be that as it may, Alexander marched on to the Hydaspes, where he formed the design of passing down the river Indus into the ocean [z].

Though the Oxydracæ and the Malli were subdued by the Macedonians, yet they afterwards revolted from them, and assembled a great army in order to oppose their king, and put a stop to his conquests. But Alexander, by marching through a desert country with incredible celerity, surprised the Malli, and soon reduced them, though he was dreadfully wounded in an attack made upon one of their strong fortresses, into which they had put their wives and children for security, and a good garrison for their defence. This event quite disconcerted the measures of the Oxydracæ, and so intimidated them, that they sent deputies to inform the king, that they were now ready to accept of such terms as he should please to prescribe. Alexander commanded them to send him a thousand of their principal men to serve in his army, and to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the rest; an order which they not only complied with, but likewise begged him to accept of five hundred chariots of war, properly harnessed and equipped, as a free gift. This present so pleased him, that he dismissed the whole thousand men he had before demanded of them. The territory of the Malli he annexed to Philip's province; soon after which transaction, Musicanus, whose kingdom was one of the richest and most populous in India, delivered himself and his territories into his hands. Then he fell upon Oxycanus, another Indian prince, took two of his cities at the first assault, and gave them up to his soldiers to be plundered. This success, together with the king's being taken prisoner, had such an effect upon all the other cities in his dominions, that they opened their gates to the conqueror. Sambus, or Sabus, had been declared by Alexander governor of the Indian mountaineers; but he fled, when he heard that the Macedonian monarch had vouchsafed Musicanus, with whom he was at enmity, so gracious a reception. However, Alexander went to Sindomana, his capital city, where he received many valuable presents from Sabus's friends and domestics, who assured the king, that this prince's flight was owing to his fear of Musicanus, and not to any apprehension of a benefactor's resentment, against whom he was incapable of harbouring any sinister designs [a].

He subdues the Oxydracæ, Malli, &c.

[z] Arrian. & Strab. ubi sup. Sic. Justin. ubi supra.

[a] Arrian. lib. v. cap. 25. Diod.

And several other Indian nations.

The king, receiving advice of Musicanus's revolt, dispatched Agenor, one of his generals, with a body of troops, against him. That general subdued his kingdom effectually, and even brought with him, to the Macedonian camp, Musicanus himself in chains. Alexander was extremely pleased at this service, and commanded him to be crucified, together with all the Brachmans who had excited him to this revolt. He was greatly incensed against those sages, on account of their having inspired several of the Indian princes and states with an aversion to the Macedonians; though, that he highly reverenced them afterwards, when he became acquainted with their wisdom, and generous notions, we learn from Plutarch. As for their aversion to the Macedonians, the Indians had most certainly the greatest reason for it; as Alexander, by the dreadful ravages he committed among them, the great numbers he massacred, and the most barbarous treatment they in many places suffered, discovered himself to be an enemy not only to them, but to the whole race of mankind. Nor could he have been considered by the Indians in any other light than as the chief of a body of plunderers and assassins, who made it their whole business to pillage and destroy, as far as in them lay, all other nations. For a farther account of Musicanus, the prince so barbarously used, we must beg leave to refer our readers to Strabo: in the mean time it may not be improper to observe, that sometimes we find Musicanus's subjects called Musicani, or Musicanians, and the country he governed the kingdom of Musicanus. It was a common practice among the ancient Indians to apply to themselves, and the countries they inhabited, the names of their kings. Porus seems to have been an appellation common to the sovereigns of India, as was Pharaoh to those of Egypt, Candace to those of Meroe, Cæsar to the Roman emperors, &c. or, at least, a sort of surname used by several neighbouring Indian princes at the same time [b].

He leaves India.

Alexander, arriving at Pattala, a noble island formed by the mouths of the Indus, found, that the commands he had issued when he left that place, were, in a great measure, complied with. The king of this island had before paid homage to him, and been restored to his dominions. Alexander, sailing through a branch of the Indus, found, that, at its mouth, it spread over the whole country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger. Having made the proper dispositions for the

[b] Strab. Arrian. & Plut. ubi sup.

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departure both of his fleet and land-forces, he quitted India, and, after having reduced the Oritæ, began his arduous march through Gedrosia.

From what has been said, it appears, that Alexander rather over-ran than conquered any considerable part of India. The progress of his arms in this country, it is true, was extremely rapid, but then we find, that many, if not most, of the princes he subdued, almost as soon as he had moved out of their territories, asserted their former independency. Several of these, indeed, he a second time reduced; but there is good reason to believe that even most of them, not to mention others, after his departure, resumed their pristine authority. Be that as it will, the Macedonian hero never saw, perhaps, the greatest part of India; and that his successors had little footing even in those provinces of India which he traversed rather than subdued, will presently appear. Nor is it probable, that a very considerable part of a tract containing a hundred and twenty nations, consisting of the strongest men in the world (for as such we find the Indians represented by the ancients), should be entirely reduced by Alexander's army, whilst he remained in India. The Greek writers themselves, the most devoted to Alexander, and who have the most amplified his atchievements, do not give the least countenance to such a supposition [c].

India independent on the Macedonians at Alexander's death.

We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that, in the division of Alexander's empire, Taxiles and Porus had their own kingdoms assigned them, as restored and augmented by that conqueror, before he left India. This may be true, especially as it is confirmed by Arrian, whom we have chosen principally to follow in our history of Alexander the Great, for the reasons already given; but, admitting it, we have great reason to believe, that they enjoyed their sovereignty in as ample a manner as ever before the commencement of that division. And that there were other princes independent on them, appears from hence, that Cleophes, queen of part of India, had a son by Alexander the Great, who succeeded his mother in her kingdom. And, from what we have already related, it appears, that the Macedonians were only possessed of some of the maritime provinces of India, when they were driven from thence by Sandrocottus; a circumstance which amounts to a plain proof, that they had then little power in the interior part of that extensive region.

[c] Arrian, ubi supra. Strab. ubi supra.

Seleucus cedes India to Sandrocottus. Sandrocottus, or, as he is called by some, Androcottus, an Indian of mean extraction, was a youth when Alexander subjugated part of India. He had seen that monarch in his camp, and became very popular among his countrymen. Under the specious pretext of enabling the Indians to shake off the yoke of foreigners, he assembled an army of six hundred thousand men, and made himself master of India. To recover the Macedonian conquests, Seleucus marched over the Indus; but finding Sandrocottus prepared to enter upon action with an army of six hundred thousand men, and a prodigious number of elephants, having almost all India at his devotion, he did not judge it adviseable to provoke so formidable a power: wherefore he thought proper to renounce his pretensions to India; for which renunciation Sandrocottus granted him a supply of five hundred elephants. This treaty Seleucus was induced to conclude with the king of India, that he might the more readily contribute to the reduction of the exorbitant power of Antigonus, and his son Demetrius, who had driven both Cassander and Ptolemy out of all the strong places they possessed in Greece. From this time the Greeks had no great intercourse with India; so that we find little recorded by the ancients of the Indian affairs, after that nation had abandoned almost all the provinces Alexander conquered to the east of the Indus.

Amitrochates writes to Antiochus. How long Sandrocottus swayed the sceptre of India, we are not informed, nor of what happened there during his reign: but that some sort of a communication was afterwards kept open between Syria and India, may be inferred from Athenæus. That author informs us, that Amitrochates, king of India, probably of the family of Sandrocottus, wrote to Antiochus, one of Seleucus's descendents, to desire that prince to send him a quantity of sweet wine, dried figs, and a Greek sophist, for which he offered to pay whatever should be demanded of him. Antiochus, in answer to his letter, told him, that with figs and wine he would plentifully supply him; but that the laws of the Greeks did not permit him to sell a Greek sophist. What was the result of this epistolary correspondence, or which of the successors of Seleucus this Antiochus was, we cannot pretend to say [d].

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. Arrian. de Reb. post Alexand. gest. in Excerptis Photii, p. 610. Amstel. 1668. Justin. lib. xv. cap. 4. Appian. in Syriac. p. 122, 123. Strab. lib. xv. Plut. in Alexand. Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. xiv. p. 652.

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That Seleucus, however, did not cede every district in India, conquered by Alexander, to Sandrocottus, is rendered probable by Arrian. This author relates, that even to his time several ancient Greek drachms were found in the neighbourhood of Barygaza, with Greek inscriptions, and the effigies, or at least the insignia, of Apollodotus and Menander, two Greek princes, upon them. He also says, that those princes reigned there after Alexander's decease. From whence we may conclude, that this remote province of India was never subject to Sandrocottus; and that the Greeks kept their footing here a considerable time, possibly several generations, after the partition of the Macedonian empire [e]. *Some Greek princes reigned at Barygaza.*

From the reign of Sandrocottus to the time of Augustus, we find little said of the Indians, by the Greek and Roman writers. But the Roman empire arriving at the zenith of its power whilst that prince sat upon the imperial throne, he was honoured and revered by the remotest nations. Among the rest, the Scythians, Seres, and Indians, sent ambassadors to him. The Indian ministers came from a prince called Porus, according to Orosius, and found Augustus in Spain. The purport of their commission was to enter into an alliance with him. But, as some time was spent before any considerable progress could be made in this affair, other ambassadors were dispatched by Porus to Augustus some years after, whom they met at Samos, in order to put the finishing hand to the projected treaty. Nicolas of Damascus saw these ambassadors, who were only three, the others dying by the fatigues they sustained in thrir long journey, at Antioch. They brought with them, according to him, a letter written upon parchment, or vellum, in Greek, intimating, that Porus presided over six hundred kings, that he set a high value upon Cæsar's friendship, and that he was ready to serve him in every thing reasonable, to the utmost of his power. Eight Indian servants, wearing only a sort of trowses or drawers, and having their bodies perfumed with aromatic unguents, after the Indian manner, carried the presents sent by Porus to Augustus. Among other curiosities, of which these consisted, Nicolas mentioned several vipers of an immense size, a serpent above fifteen foot long, a river-tortoise near five, and a partridge bigger than a vulture. The Indian ambassadors had likewise in their train the Brachman, or sage, Zarmanochagas, who afterwards burnt himself at Athens, as Calanus had done be- *An Indian king sends an embassy to Augustus.*

e Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 27. Oxon. 1698.

fore

fore at Pafargadæ. The former of thofe philofophers is faid to have deftroyed himfelf in the height of his profperity, that he might not meet with any future misfortunes. He approached the pile with a fmiling countenance; and had upon his tomb, or fepulchral monument, the following infcription: "Here lies Zarmanochagas the Indian of Bargofa, who put himfelf out of life, in conformity to a cuftom prevailing among his countrymen [f]."

A Taprobanian king fends ambaffadors to Claudius.

Annius Plocamus, a freedman, who farmed the cuftoms of the Red Sea, failing on the coaft of Arabia, was driven by contrary winds into Hippuri, a port of Taprobane. The king of the country having entertained him for fix months with great hofpitality, received from him, during that interval, a full and ample account of Cæfar and the Romans. That prince, viewing the money Plocamus brought with him, obferved that the denarii, though coined in different places, and by different hands, were all of the fame weight; a circumftance which gave him a very advantageous idea of the Roman honefty, and induced him to fend an embaffy to Rome, in the reign of the emperor Claudius. The Taprobanian embaffy confifted of four perfons, the principal of whom was one Rachias, a man of great confideration in the ifland. They came in order to folicit an alliance with Claudius; and informed the Romans of many particulars, which before they were ftrangers to. Among other things, they told them, that there were five hundred towns in the ifland; that Palæfimundus, the capital city, was fo extremely populous, that one part of it only contained two hundred thoufand fouls; and that the lake Megifba, in the interior part of Taprobane, out of which iffued two rivers, was three hundred and feventy-five miles in circumference. They alfo related, that the Seres, in whofe country Rachias's father had been, were greatly addicted to commerce, of a larger fize than other men, and had red hair, and blue eyes. The Taprobanians at this time abounded with gold, filver, pearls, and all kinds of jewels. They elected for their king a perfon who had no children, and if afterwards he begot any, they certainly depofed him, left the crown fhould become hereditary. Our readers will find feveral other particulars relating to the civil and religious conftitution of Taprobane at this time in Pliny, to whom, for farther fatisfaction, we beg leave to refer them.

[f] Sueton. in Auguft. cap. 21. Amft 1650. Strab. lib. xv. Dio. lib. liv. p. 777. Eufeb. in Chron. ad an. Auguft 18. & ad A. U. C. 734. Orof. lib. vi. fub fin.

We find an Indian king called Phraotes, or Phraortes, mentioned by Philostratus. That author likewise mentions this prince's son, who was a minor when his father died. The regents, during his minority, being tyrants, were cut off by the people; upon which he retired for refuge to another Indian king, whose dominions bordered upon the Hypanis. Here he studied philosophy, married that prince's daughter, and succeeded him in his kingdom: but finding his wife's brother more popular than himself, and apprehending his life was in danger, he abdicated the throne, and ever afterwards lived a retired life [g]. *Phraotes I.*

Phraotes, or Phraortes II. had made a great progress in Greek literature, under his father's tuition, before he arrived at twelve years of age. He afterwards lived seven years with the philosophers, or Brahmans; and in that interval lost both his parents and his kingdom. The last he was deprived of by the villainy of his uncle; but, after some time, he was recalled by his subjects, who received him with open arms. He, at leisure hours, applied himself to the study of philosophy. In his time Apollonius Tyanæus visited India. *Phraotes II.*

Philostratus also informs us, that one Mandrus, who was contemporary with Phraotes II. ruled Porus's kingdom. He likewise mentions another Indian prince, who was no great friend to literature.

Sarganus, Sandanes, Ceprobotus, and Pandion, Indian kings, are recorded by Arrian.

After Trajan had entirely subdued the Daci, and reduced several nations in alliance with them, the fame of his conquests reached the most distant regions. Ambassadors were even sent from India to congratulate him upon the success which had attended his arms. This prince, being upon the coast of Arabia, and discovering a ship bound to India, wished he was young, that he might extend his conquests to that country. Eutropius tells us, that he fitted out a fleet in the Red Sea, with an intention to undertake an expedition against India; and that, in order to crown this with success, he informed himself of the customs, strength, and manner of fighting among the Indians. *Ambassadors sent from India to Trajan.*

The fame of Antoninus Pius's great wisdom, justice, and moderation, reached the Indians, and induced them to send ambassadors to him, as we learn from Aurelius Victor. But what was the purport of their commission, or what

[g] Plin. lib. vi. cap. 22. Philostrat. de Vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. ii.

business

business they transacted at Rome, after their arrival there, does not appear from any ancient author [h].

It is very well known, that the emperor Aurelian was feared by the remotest barbarous nations. Among the rest, the Indians themselves seem to have stood in awe of him. That he had gained some advantages over certain of their tribes, or cantons, may be concluded probable from hence, that several Indians graced his most remarkable triumph, as we find related by Vopiscus. Among the nations who sent solemn embassies and rich presents, to gain the friendship of the conqueror of Zenobia, he mentions the Arabians, Bactrians, Iberians, Albanians, Saracens, Armenians, Ethiopians, Indians, Persians, and even the Seres bordering upon the Chinese.

Genobon and Esatech were two Indian princes, who seem to have put themselves under the protection of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian; besides which, we find nothing remarkable related of them.

And likewise to Constantine the Great.

About three hundred and thirty years after the commencement of the Christian æra, ambassadors arrived at Constantinople from the Blemmyes, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and the Persians, with rich presents for Constantine, whose friendship was at that time courted by their respective masters. And, according to Eusebius, those princes were then disposed to acknowlege this emperor for their sovereign; but that in fact they did so, we are not told by any author. Nor have we any particulars relating to the situation of affairs in India, when the Indian deputy, or deputies, here mentioned, left that country.

We are told, however, by Cedrenus, that a king of India sent most rich and magnificent presents to Constantine, after, as it should seem, the arrival at Constantinople of the former Indian ambassadors. He committed these presents to the care and custody of one Metrodorus, who had lived some time among the Brachmans [i].

An account of India, and some of the neighbouring countries in the time of the emperor Justinian.

From this time, to the reign of Justinian, we find little mention made of the Indians by the ancients. But Cosmas Ægyptius, or, as he is sometimes called, Cosmas Indicopleustes, who was contemporary with Justinian, has transmitted down to us several particulars relating to that nation. He informs us, that the island of Sielediva, or Selediva, the Ceylon of the moderns, was in his days divided

[h] Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Erythr. Plin. lib. vi. cap. 23. Eutrop. in Trajan. Euseb. Chron. p. 206. Dio, lib. liv. p. 784. Aur. Vict. [i] Flav. Vopisc. in Vit. Aurelian, p. 218. Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 409, 410. Cedren. p. 242.

into two kingdoms, of which one was called the kingdom of Hyacinthus. He intimates, that it lay almost at an equal distance from the head of the Persian gulph and the country of the Sinæ; that it was the ancient Taprobane, and three hundred miles in circumference. The chief places between Sielediva and the country of the Sinæ were, according to him, Marallo, abounding with cockles or periwinkles; Caber, and another maritime tract, which he has not named. Upon that which is now called the Malabar coast he has placed the following cities and empories: Sindu, Orrhotha, Calliana (the modern Calicut) Sibor, Male, a district containing five empories, Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, and Pudapatana. The words *Male bar*, or *Malabar*, denote in the Indian or Malabar language *the country*, *tract*, or *district of Male*; and *Male dive*, or *Maldive*, *the Islands of Male*, which are denominated by the present Europeans, the Maldives, and lie at a small distance from this coast. That author sometimes confounds the Hunns, Scythians, or Tartars, with the Indians; for he tells us, that the most populous nation of the Hunns inhabited the northern parts of India. He also relates that, when he wrote, Gollas their king had two thousand elephants, and an exceeding formidable body of horse. This prince, according to Cosmas, besieged a city surrounded with water, which his elephants and horses drank up; and then the place surrendered to him. These were the progenitors of the present Hungarians. They were situated near Bactria, and seem to have been the Massagetæ of Herodotus, though in the days of Cosmas they went under the names of Magiares and Abares. There were many Christians at this time in India, Persia, and Arabia Felix, under the ecclesiastical government of the archbishop of Persia, who ordained all the bishops, presbyters, and deacons residing in those countries. The Christian religion is supposed to have been planted in Persia by Thaddæus. When Cosmas wrote, Thomas Edessenus, his friend, was promoted to the archbishoprick or primacy of Persia. The archbishop of Persia probably sent a bishop to Calliana, or Calicut, as well as presbyters and deacons. Great numbers of Christians lived in Male, Sielediva, and all over Persia, as well as among the Hunns, the people of Socotra, and the other Indians, in the time of the emperor Justinian. The island of Socotra is said to have been peopled by the Egyptians, whilst the Ptolemies sat upon the throne of Egypt; and that the inhabitants of this island spoke Greek in the sixth century, we may infer from Cosmas. We must not forget to observe,

that

that Theodosius, Heraclius, and Justinian had solemn embassies sent them from India; nor that the Persian, Arab, Scythian or Tartar, and Indian Christians were, for the most part, Nestorians [k].

The Indians, at this time, were as much addicted to trade as their ancestors in the days of Strabo. They imported great quantities of silk into Persia, and enjoyed a very extensive commerce, according to Procopius. Their vessels, in which they navigated to the Persian ports, were very rude and simple, resembling those of the Ethiopians. This simplicity seems to have been chiefly owing to their want of iron, their laws not permitting them to purchase any of the Romans. The Persians took care to keep the silk-manufacture for a long time to themselves, not permitting the silk-worms to be carried out of Persia, insomuch that it was for several ages extremely dear in those parts, being of equal value with gold. But at last Justinian sent two monks into Serinda, probably either Serica, or a part of India contiguous to it, to learn how the silk trade was managed, and, on their return home, to bring with them a large quantity of silk-worms, that he might be thereby enabled to set up the manufactures in his own dominions. They accordingly informed themselves of every particular relating to the manufacture; but found it impossible to bring the worms themselves alive to Constantinople. However, they brought great quantities of their eggs thither; and, by covering them with dung, after the Indian manner, and imparting to them a proper degree of heat, they easily hatched them. From these eggs have been propagated all the silk-worms since produced in Europe [l].

After the death of Justinian we find nothing of moment related of the Indians till the time of Walid the sixth khalif of the family of Ommiyah, who rendered part of India tributary to him. In the space of nine years and an half he subjugated Spain, Sardinia, the islands of Majorca and Minorca, a part of Gallia Narbonnensis, the vast province of Maouarannahar, Turkestân, and most of India intra Gangem.

The history of India, from the khalifat of Walid to the conquest of that country by Mahmud Gazni, is so barren, that it contains no particulars meriting our attention, at least none but such as will be more properly inserted in the modern history of the Arabs.

[k] Cosm. Ægypt. Topograph. Christian. p. 2, 3. & alib. pass. Parisiis, 1706. Maturin. Veyssier. La Croze apud Joan. Chamberlayn. in Dissert. Philolog. p. 130. Amst. 1715. If. Casaub. Animadvers. in Sueton. lib. ii. p. 61. Parisiis, 1610. [l] Procop. de Bell. Persic. lib. i. p. 58, 59. & de Bell. Gothic. lib. iv. cap. 17. p. 613. Parisiis, 1662.

C H A P. LXXXIX.

The History of the Chinese.

S E C T. I.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Language, Arts, Sciences, and Disposition of the ancient Chinese.

THE Chinese, like other nations, assume to themselves too high an antiquity, as fixing the reign of their first emperor Fohi near three thousand years before the birth of Christ. Their original, as well as that of the Tartars, favours strongly of fable, as does also the history of several of their first emperors. Nor has father Du Halde offered any thing in defence of the Chinese chronology, though he professes himself a zealous admirer of it, that deserves the least attention, except an eclipse of the sun, which happened in the reign of Chong-kang, two thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before the commencement of the Christian æra. This, indeed, he builds much upon, as does likewise father Premare, who allows, that China was peopled above two thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before Christ, of which fact he reckons the aforesaid solar eclipse to be a full and perfect demonstration [m]. *The Chinese assume to themselves too high an antiquity.*

M. Maigrot, bishop of Konon, with great reason, believes the chronology of ancient times among the Chinese to be very uncertain and precarious; as also that the Chinese annalist Chuhi has adjusted both the years and eclipses solely according to his own fancy. Of this no one can doubt, who considers that the Chinese were little versed in astronomy, even when the Jesuits first went among them; and that they were so far from being able to calculate an eclipse, or even likely to make any celestial observations, two thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before the birth of Christ, that they probably knew as little then of any thing relating to eclipses, and the other heavenly phe- *Their chronology very uncertain.*

[m] Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 21. Du Halde in Introduct. &c. in Fo-hi. Forum. Refl critiq sur Hist. Anc. Peuple tom. ii. P. Couplet. Præf. ad Sinic. Chronol. p. 20. P. Premare in Lettr. edifiant. tom. xix. p. 457.

nomena, as the bulk of mankind, or even the most illiterate nations, at present do.

China not so early peopled as some imagine. That China could have been but thinly peopled so late as one thousand three hundred years before the Christian æra, we have rendered probable in the history of the Tartars. And that a considerable part of it must have been uncultivated even in the year 637 preceding Christ, when the Scythians, under the conduct of Madyes, first made an irruption into the upper Asia, has there likewise been clearly evinced. To which we may add, that had China then been a large and powerful empire, as it has been for many ages last past, notwithstanding the reserved temper of the Chinese, and their great aversion to an intercourse with foreigners, some knowlege of the riches, power, and genius of its subjects, must have transpired. The Persians could not have been kept in profound ignorance of such a state till the decline of their empire, nor even the Greeks till the time of Herodotus, had the Chinese made any considerable figure before that period. But we have not the least intimation of such a people as the Chinese before Alexander the Great penetrated into India, and even then we find nothing of moment related of them [n].

The descendents of Japhet peopled China. That the descendents of Japhet peopled China as well as Tartary, we see no reason to doubt, though when they first arrived in that country, we cannot pretend to say. It is true, this opinion has not been universally received, though the greatest part of the learned have adhered to it, some affecting to deduce the Chinese from Noah's sons born after the deluge. But such a notion seems to run counter to Scripture, as well as reason, common sense, and the nature of things.

China scarce known to the ancient Greeks and Persians. China and Tartary were probably peopled by the descendents of Magog, Meshech, and Tubal; though when any of these first reached those vast and remote regions, it is impossible to determine. The prodigious distance of China from Shinar and Armenia seems to imply, that no powerful monarchy or empire could have been formed in the first of those countries, till many ages after the dispersion, notwithstanding what has been so positively advanced to the contrary of late by some of the Jesuits. That neither China nor Tartary were known to the Israelites, or indeed any of the neighbouring nations, in the time of Moses,

[n] M Maigr. apud Du Hald. in Introduct. Th Sig. Bayer. Chronolog. Scythic. in Comment. Acad Petropol. tom iii. p. 302. Petropoli, 1732 Strab. lib. xv. p. 699. Quint. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1. M. Von Strahlenberg's Introduct. p. 42. note (34).

Moses, must be allowed probable, since he has passed over in silence the posterity of Magog, Meshech, and Tubal; from whence we may at least infer, that those regions then were very thin of inhabitants. Neither Homer nor Herodotus has dropped any thing which can induce us to believe, that either of them ever heard of the Chinese; nor do any of the ancient Persian historians supply us with the least hint relative to this nation, before the declension of the Persian empire. All which has no small tendency to overthrow the sentiments the Chinese have entertained of the high antiquity of their empire, as well as the indefatigable and utmost efforts of some of the Jesuits to support it [o].

China call'd Kathay by the Tartars.

It has been remarked by some authors, that the western Tartars call China Kitay, Khathai, Kathai, or Kathay. Now, that this name was in use among the Asiatic Scythians in the time of Alexander the Great, may be proved from Curtius and Strabo. For the Sophitian kingdom, mentioned by Curtius, is called Cathea by Strabo. It comprehended, according to Von Strahlenberg, Tibet or Thibet, Tangut, and part of China. As the Mungals and Kalmucks pretend, that their Dalai Lama had his residence, some thousand years ago, in the country of Tangut, one of his predecessors not improbably resided there in the time of Alexander the Great. The Greeks, according to the same author, called the lamas, or priests, in Tibet and Tangut, (O) sophists, because they were then greatly addicted to predictions, prophecy, and chiromancy, as they have all along been to this day. Indeed, properly speaking, the Tartars apply the name of Kathay only to the northern part of China, and the kingdoms of Tibet and Chotena. The little knowlege Alexander had of these regions he derived from the Indians [p].

Who the Seres were.

Some take the Seres of the ancients to have been the Chinese, or at least a part of that very remote nation; but

[o] M. Martin. Couplet, Fourmont, Du Halde, &c. [p] Paul. Venet. Du Halde, &c. Strab. lib. xv. p. 699. Quint. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Von Strahlenberg's Introduct. p. 42. note (34.)

(O) Perhaps some of our readers will not so readily come into this notion of M. Von Strahlenberg concerning the reason of the name Sophitis, or Sophitian. For we are told by Strabo, that Sopithes, or Sopithis, from whom this tract was called the kingdom, or empire, of Sopithis, or Sophitis, was sovereign of the country when Alexander pushed on his conquests in India (1).

(1) Strab. lib xv. p. 699.

others are of a different opinion. Cellarius, who has given us the best system of the ancient geography, does not bring this controversy to a decision. He only says, "Alii ut in Scythis, ita etiam in Seribus locandis mire variârunt: Others have assigned the Scythians, as well as the Seres, very different situations." Dr. Prideaux, with the generality of learned men, believes the Seres to have been the same people with that remote eastern nation called at present the Chinese. On the contrary, M Von Strahlenberg seems not disposed to admit the Seres to have had so remote an easterly situation as the Chinese. But in this opinion we take that ingenious gentleman to be mistaken. For, according to Florus, the ambassadors sent by the Seres with presents to Augustus, were four years on their journey; which is a full demonstration of the immense distance of their country from Rome; and, if Pliny may be credited, the river Lanos, the Lena of the moderns, to the east of some districts in China, ran through part of the territories of the Seres. It is probable, that the Seres possessed part of the tract comprehending the kingdoms of Kashgar and Tibet, the countries of the Kalkas and Mungals, or Chinese Tartary, and even certain districts of China itself. Nor do we believe, that the word Seres ought to be considered as the proper name of any one particular nation. It seems to be a term of Tartar extraction; the Usbecks calling merchants living in cities *sær* or *sært*, which others comprehend under the name of *bukhars*. These særtes, or seres, are now vassals, citizens, and merchants, settled in three different regions; first, without the Chinese wall, under the Chinese jurisdiction, where they are called Koton; secondly, among the Usbecks, who give them the denomination of Særtes or Seres; and thirdly, in the kingdom of Kashgar, where they have the appellation of Bukhars. They carried on a trade with the Scythians from very remote ages, and consequently were in the earlier times greatly addicted to commerce; a circumstance which perfectly answers the character given of them by Pliny. The Seres were anciently famous for their silken manufactures (P), they having first used the way of making silk from

(P) From the Seres both silk and its name came to the Greeks and Romans. After Alexander had conquered Persia, silk was brought into Greece, and from thence into Italy in the flourishing times of the Roman empire. But, as the Persians took care to keep this manufacture a long while wholly to themselves, silk was sold for its weight in gold for many ages in all these western parts. But at last, the emperor Justinian found means to

from the web of the silk-worm. Hence Serica became the name of silk, and Sericum of a silken garment, both among the Greeks and Romans.

Government. Of the form of government prevailing anciently in China, we have not much to say. Nothing material relating to it has been handed down to us by any of the Greek or Roman authors. However, that it was monarchical, we have all the reason in the world to believe. The Chinese historians are unanimous in this point, and have given us a long series of their kings or emperors from Fo-hi to the present time. Nor can any thing be more agreeable to reason than such a notion, this species of government having taken place in the East, from the earliest ages. Besides, as the Chinese have never permitted foreigners to settle among them, but constantly and perpetually kept themselves unmixed with other nations, we may reasonably suppose, that they have all along invariably retained this form of government. Now there is no monarchy at present upon earth more despotic than that of China. The emperor is vested with absolute authority, and, to appearance, is a kind of divinity; the respect which is paid him amounting to a sort of adoration. His words are like so many oracles, and the least of his commands as implicitly obeyed as if they came down from heaven. None are suffered to speak to him but on their knees, not even his eldest brother; or to appear before him with ceremony in any other posture, unless he gives orders to the contrary. Only the lords who accompany him are permitted to stand before him, and to bend one knee when they speak to him. We may therefore presume, that the mandarins, and principal officers, with the utmost alacrity, ever since the time of Shi-whang-ti, have always given the same public marks of veneration for their emperors, in order to maintain that servile subordination essential to every despotic government. From whence the absolute and unlimited authority of those monarchs may be as fairly deduced, as from the express testimony of any ancient historian.

to have vast quantities of silk-worms eggs brought to Constantinople out of Persia, which enabled him to set up the manufacture in his own dominions. From these eggs have been propagated all the silk-worms and silk-trade, which have been ever since in several parts of Europe. The ancients were so ignorant how silk was made, that they imagined it to grow on the tops of trees.

Laws. That the Chinese emperors for the most part ascended the throne by hereditary right, appears from the nature of their government; though both these monarchs and the dependent princes sometimes broke in upon the succession. However, their first monarch Fo-hi, who was born in the province of Shen-si, was elected by his countrymen on account of his rare qualities and superior merit. With regard to laws, as the will of the prince was the rule or measure of his subjects obedience and submission, our readers will not expect a circumstantial detail of them in this place. However, as the Chinese have at present many salutary political maxims and institutions, wearing the face of laws, we doubt not but something of this kind was current among them, even in the earlier ages. But we shall have an opportunity of discussing this point more fully in the modern history of China, to which such a discussion will more properly belong.

Religion. The first planters of China, instructed by tradition, inspired their children, and, through them, their numerous posterity, at least for several ages, with proper and becoming sentiments of the Supreme Being. They taught them to fear and honour the Sovereign Lord of the universe, and to live according to the principles of the law of nature engraven in their hearts. Of this doctrine we find traces in those ancient and valuable books, which the Chinese call, by way of eminence, The Five Volumes; being the canonical or classical books of the highest rank, which they look upon as the source of all their science and morality [q].

The chief object of their worship, then, at first, was the Supreme Being, the Lord and Sovereign Principle of all things, whom they adored under the name either of Shang-ti, that is *supreme emperor*, or Tyen, which with the Chinese signifies the same thing. "Tyen," say the interpreters of the Five Volumes, "is the Spirit that presides in heaven, because heaven is the most excellent work produced by this First Cause." Sometimes the word is also taken for the material heaven, the sense being to be determined by the subject to which it is applied. The father the Chinese called the Tyen of the family, the viceroy the Tyen of the province, and the emperor the Tyen of the kingdom. They also honoured, but with a subordinate worship, inferior spirits depending on the Supreme Being;

q Mar. Martin, Sinic. Hist. Couplet, Le Compte, Fourmont, Du Halde, &c.

which, according to them, presided over cities, rivers, mountains, kingdoms, provinces, and particular persons, and nearly answered to the demons and genii of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

But though Shang-ti, or Tyen, was at first the primary, if not sole object of their worship, yet in after-ages they seem to have addressed their vows and homage to the visible material heaven; or, at least, to a celestial Virtue, void of understanding, and inseparable from heaven itself.

That the Chinese had at first very rational notions of Tyen, or the Deity, appears from one of their canonical books, known by the name of Shu-king. He is therein styled the father of the people, solely independent, almighty, a being who knows the most hidden things, even the secrets of the heart. He is also represented as watching over the government of the universe, so that no event can happen but by his orders; as holy without partiality, pleased with the virtue of mankind, superlatively just, punishing wickedness in the most signal manner, even in kings, whom he deposeth, setting up others in their room, according to his will and pleasure. It is likewise there said, that public calamities are the warnings which he gives for the reformation of manners; and that these calamities are followed by acts of mercy and goodness. The first sages of the Chinese nation did not only acknowlege a future day of punishment, but had also their minds influenced by the persuasion, that Tyen, by prodigies and extraordinary appearances, gives notice of approaching miseries, wherewith the state is threatened. His intention herein being to excite men to a reformation of manners, as the surest way to avert the impending wrath of heaven [r].

The Shu-king continually inculcates a just dread of the Supreme Being, as the most proper curb for the passions, and the most effectual remedy against vice. It likewise represents all pious suggestions, and holy thoughts, as inspired by Tyen, the source of goodness, order, and perfection. According to the same book, Tyen has an absolute dominion over the wills of mankind, in order to conduct them to his own wise and just ends; though he rewards and punishes men by means of one another, without any detriment to their liberty.

As the ancient Chinese ascribed to Tyen power, providence, knowlege, justice, goodness, and clemency, and acknowleged, that the most wicked man, by making use of

[r] Mart. Martin. Vide etiam Shu-king apud Du Halde, ut & ipsum Du Halde, ibid.

the assistance Tyen offers him, may attain to the most exalted pitch of virtue, they honoured him with worship and sacrifices, and by the practice of every virtue. They likewise affirmed, that all external adoration is vain and insignificant, if it does not proceed from the heart, and is not animated by the inward sentiments.

The emperor was the only person to whom the function of offering sacrifices to Tyen belonged. But as Tyen, according to the early Chinese, views from heaven every thing done on earth, has given us souls capable of reflection, and loves virtue, it was not thought sufficient for the priesthood to be joined to the royal dignity in the person of the emperor. But it was moreover judged necessary, that he should be either upright or penitent; and that, preparatory to the exercise of his pontifical function, he should expiate his faults with fasting and tears. The ancient sages believed, that mankind could not fathom Tyen's counsels and designs; but that even the minutest and most secret of their actions lay open to his all-seeing eye. They were also convinced, that he examines all our actions, and has erected a tribunal in our own consciences, whereby we are judged [a].

The emperor was looked upon as the only proper person to observe the primitive rites, and render publicly solemn homage to Shang-ti, as being his adopted son, and the principal heir of his grandeur on earth. To sacrifice to the first Being of the universe, required, in the opinion of the ancient Chinese, no less than the most exalted person in the empire; to the end that, the emperor thus humbling himself, in the presence of his court, by the sacrifices offered in the name of the empire to the Master of the world, the sovereign authority of the Supreme Being might still shine more resplendent, and appear exalted above any equal.

The Chinese seem to have remained in the primitive religion, or the religion of Fo-hi, till the reign of Shau-hau, when nine chu hew, or feudatory princes, endeavoured to force their subjects to offer sacrifices to evil spirits. They disturbed houses, according to some Chinese writers, with these spirits, and greatly terrified the people with their delusions. But Chwen-hyo, nephew of Whang-ti, who succeeded Shau-hau, extirpated the race of these nine inchanters, appeased the minds of the people, and restored order to the sacrifices.

But though the canonical books above mentioned, especially the Shu-king, place the souls of virtuous men near

[a] Shu-king & Du Halde, ubi sup.

Shang-ti

Shang-ti, yet it does not appear, that they have spoken clearly of the punishments in the life to come. The Chinese in the earlier ages, as well as at present, had a very confused and indistinct notion of the creation of the world. Nor had they any clear idea of the soul, and its operations, either in a conjunct or separate state. But that they believed it to exist after its separation from the body, and were convinced of the certainty of apparitions, has been put by Confucius himself beyond all manner of doubt.

It is probable, that, before the time of Confucius, idolatry had found its way into China; nay, Confucius's revival of the ancient doctrine supposes this to have been the case. Several ages after his death, the idolatry of Fo, which had before sprung up in India, was introduced into China. After the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, the Egyptian priests dispersed themselves over India, Tartary, and even China itself. To their hieroglyphical representations of the Egyptian deities are owing those monstrous idols, which from that time to this have been adored in India, Tartary, China, and other remote eastern nations [t].

The Chinese have at present a great variety of customs *Customs.* peculiar to themselves, many of which were undoubtedly the produce of the earlier ages; but few of these we can trace to their respective sources. However, the following we take to be as old as the first ages of the Chinese monarchy: 1. In the reign of Fo-hi, the men and women began to be clothed in a different manner. 2. A law or custom then commenced, by which no man could marry a woman of the same name, whether related or not; which custom is so strictly observed at this day, that no one can take a wife of his own name, although removed twenty generations, or of a different family. 3. The music invented by Fo-hi was performed on an instrument called kin, the upper part of which was convex, to represent the heavens, and the under part flat, to represent the earth. 4. The Chinese sowed only five sorts of grain, during the reign of Shin-nong their second emperor. 5. The emperor, immediately after his elevation to the throne, humbled himself so far as to plow a few furrows, and offered the produce of his tillage to Tyen. This custom prevailed almost from the beginning of the Chinese monarchy. 6. In the time of Fo-hi, the Chinese sacrificed six sorts of animals, some say

t Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 32, 33. Coupl. & Du Halde pass. Shu-King apud Du Hald. Martin. Vide etiam Confucium apud Du Hald. p. 646, 647. Athan. Kircher. Chin. Illustrat. p. 131—138.

seven

seven, to Tyen, and solemnly offered those victims twice a year at the two solstices, when all the tribunals, as well as the shops, were shut up. 7. The people, on those days were not permitted to undertake any journeys, but obliged to spend them in joining with the prince to honour Shang-ti. 8. Besides the solstitial sacrifices, Shin-nong, who succeeded Fo hi, added two others at the equinoxes. 9. The ancient Chinese offered the first-fruits to Shang-ti, as early as the days of Shin-nong. 10. The Chinese took great delight in magic and inchantments, according to their own historians, towards the end of the reign of Shau-hau, as has been already observed. 11. The priesthood was united to the crown, that the emperor alone might be enabled to offer sacrifices to the Lord of heaven, by Chwen-hyo, the fifth monarch of China. 12. It was ordained by that emperor, that, if the prince was hindered from exercising the function of pontiff, by age or sickness, some mandarin or great man should perform that duty in his stead. 13. The Chinese allowed polygamy, but some confined themselves to the use of a few wives. This custom was introduced among them by Ti-ko, or Kau-sin, the sixth emperor of China[u].

Language. That the ancient language of the Chinese was pretty nearly related to the Hebrew, and the other tongues which the learned consider as dialects of it; notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary, we own ourselves inclined to believe. Ludovicus Thomassinus, Philippus Massonius, Olaus Rudbeckius, and Augustus Pfeifferus, seem to have proved this almost to demonstration; though M. Bayer does not come so readily into their opinion. However, he does not deny either the truth or probability of that opinion, nor has he thought fit to urge any thing against the instances they have produced in favour of it. It is true, a great number of words in the present Chinese seem not deducible either from the Hebrew, or any other language; but then these may be considered as an accession to the primæval terms used in China, which were exceeding few, and undoubtedly savoured of the primitive tongue.

Writing. As other nations had, almost from the beginning, alphabets consisting of a certain number of letters, which, by their various combinations, formed syllables and words, the people we are now considering had never any alphabetic characters. They at first, in the beginning of their monarchy, communicated their ideas by drawing on paper

u Mart. Martini. Couplet, Fourmont, Du Halde, &c.

the natural images of the things they would express; which answered to the rude picture-writing of the Mexicans. Afterwards they used ænigmatical figures and symbols, which corresponded with the hieroglyphical character of the Egyptians. As an infinite number of objects could not be represented by drawing, such as the soul, the thoughts, the passions, beauty, virtues, vices, the actions of men and animals, they by degrees composed more simple figures, and invented many others to express those things that do not come within the verge of the senses. The aforesaid simple figures were formed from the hieroglyphical and symbolical characters. They were at first only the outlines of those characters; but afterwards they received many considerable alterations. The fathers Martini and Kircher supply us with many instances of this kind, for which we refer our curious readers to those learned authors, for farther satisfaction in this particular [w].

Arts and sciences. If we believe the Chinese, they were, even from the remotest antiquity, the wisest and most learned people in the world. Their first princes, according to them, invented agriculture, music, physic, astronomy, and, in short, every art that tended either to improve the mind of man, or civilize him, and make him a fit member of society. They pretend also, that their ancestors cultivated, with great ardour, magic, natural philosophy, ethics, and theology. As for navigation, commerce, and the mechanic arts, they believe their progenitors to have been better versed in them than any other ancient nation. But that these are all vain pretences, appears very plainly from their ignorance when the Jesuits first visited them, notwithstanding some of that society have transmitted to Europe very partial and fulsome accounts of them. It is also manifest from the fragments of their most ancient classical canonical books, that have been communicated to us, and from the figure they at present make in the republic of letters.

Disposition. The Chinese seem to have been anciently, as well as at present, of a mild, humane, and modest disposition, and greatly addicted to commerce; for that this was the character of the Seres, we learn from Pliny. Nor, indeed, can we suppose, that the Chinese have much varied in their genius and disposition, since they have always industriously avoided intermixing with foreigners, and have never suffered any considerable colonies from other nations to settle among them. That this has been one of their po-

w Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. cap. 22, 23. Athanas. Kircher. Chin Illustrat. part vi. cap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. p. 225—237. Vide etiam Coupl. Du Halde.

litical maxims, ever since their acquaintance with the Europeans commenced, may be inferred from the accounts given us by the missionaries, and many relations of modern travellers. The same dislike to foreigners discovered itself in the Seres, according to Pliny, who mentions it as an instance of their great inurbanity [x].

S E C T. II.

The History of the Chinese, from their Origin, to the Commencement of the first dynasty called Hya.

State of China before Fo-hi.

SOME of the Chinese philosophers maintain the eternity of the world, and others make it the mere effect of chance, or nothing more than the production of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. However, their ancestors acknowleged a first cause, and had some notion, though in the main it was very perplexed and confused, of a future state of rewards and punishments. They likewise believed the existence of good and evil spirits, as also of tutelary genii, or guardian angels, particularly those that presided over cities. Their historians make mention of a deluge that happened about three thousand years before the birth of Christ; but nothing can be collected from them relating either to the cause or extent of it. Some of their writers make Puoncu the first man to have reigned in China. He was succeeded by Tyen-hoang, in whose time the heavenly spirit diffused itself over the world, and contributed greatly towards inspiring mankind with a sense of humanity, and a disposition to the practice of all social virtues, after it had destroyed the great dragon, which had thrown both heaven and earth into confusion. This prince, according to the aforesaid writers, invented those two orders of letters, of which the Chinese afterwards framed their sexagenary cycle. A Chinese author tells us, that he had thirteen successors of one family; but these seem only to have been thirteen heads of families, or chiefs of tribes, that were contemporary with him. Ti-hoang mounted the throne after the death of Tyen-hoang, who was famous for his astronomical observations, for his distinguishing the day and night by their respective names, and for his assigning thirty days to each month. Thirteen princes came after him, of whom nothing memorable is related; so that they were probably persons of the same rank and dig-

[x] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 17. Martin. Coupl. Du Halde, &c.

nity

nity with the chiefs of tribes above mentioned. Gin-hoang, with nine princes of his family, was next advanced to the throne. He divided his dominions into nine parts, one of which he permitted his subjects to dwell upon, but assigned them the other eight solely for cultivation. He first formed the body of his subjects, who were before unconnected and dispersed, into a regular society. His reign the Chinese consider as the golden age; and believe, that the aforesaid partition gave rise to geometry. Yeu, or Yu, who followed Gin-hoang, first taught his people to build huts or cottages of wood, to defend themselves from the inclemency of the weather, and the fury of wild beasts. He likewise improved their skill in agriculture; and, by shewing them the method of striking fire out of flint, taught them to dress their meat. Suju, his successor, is said to have been an excellent astronomer, and to have introduced the doctrine of the five elements first among the Chinese. He is likewise reported to have invented knotted cords, which served instead of characters, and taught his subjects the use of them. Though the Chinese were still ignorant of the use of money, he instituted fairs, for the propagation and augmentation of commerce. To this measure he was prompted by four of his great officers, men famous for their consummate abilities, whom he had appointed to preside over four of his principal provinces.

This is the account given by the Chinese historians of the princes who lived in China before the foundation of their great monarchy by Fo-hi, whom all agree to have been at the head of their emperors. So that whatever has been advanced by some authors, in order to carry the origin of their monarchy up higher, is of no great weight, if it ought not to be considered as a manifest fiction. However, we judged it not improper to communicate to our readers what the Chinese say of themselves, even in the times preceding Fo-hi, since there is something entertaining, and probably some faint emanations of truth, in what even the most barbarous nations have by tradition received from their ancestors concerning their own original.

1. Fo-hi was born in the province of Shen-si, or, as others write it, Xen-si. His mother, walking upon the bank of a lake near Lan-tyen, a city of Shen-si, saw a vast print of a man's foot upon the sand; and, being surrounded by an iris or rainbow, she became impregnated, and in due time was brought to bed of Fo-hi. He was elected by his countrymen to govern them, on account of his superior merit, and called by them Tyen-tse, that is, *the son of heaven.* This name they gave him, not because they *Fo-hi.*

believed

believed him to be of divine extraction, but to denote, that he was more favoured by heaven than the rest of mankind, since he had received from thence those exalted and transcendent qualities which raised him to the throne [y].

We are told that Fo-hi was a most profound mathematician, a famous legislator, and taught his subjects first to surround cities with walls. In order to distinguish families from one another, he first gave them names; and, perceiving that the knotted cords above mentioned were unfit for publishing his laws, and transmitting his documents to posterity, he invented the eight qua, to remedy the defect. These consisted of three lines each, which, differently combined, make sixty-four, and serve as symbols for expressing every thing that occurs.

These eight qua or symbols, whose lines are either whole or broken, signify certain general things or elements, on which depend the generation and corruption of particular things. One represents heaven, another the earth, the third thunder and lightning, the fourth mountains, the fifth fire, the sixth the clouds, the seventh water, and the eight the wind. He taught them how to make use of these famous symbols; and, to give the greater credit to his new laws, pretended, that he had seen them inscribed on the back of a dragon-horse, which rose from the bottom of a lake. He called it a dragon-horse, because it was shaped like a horse, with the scales and wings of a dragon. It is no wonder, that Fo-hi on this occasion should have recourse to a miraculous or extraordinary appearance, to give the greater weight and authority to his institutions, since other ancient legislators, the better to accommodate their laws to the taste of the vulgar, ascribed the political systems they had framed to some celebrated divinity [z].

Fo-hi chose on this occasion a dragon, or dragon-horse, to be his assistant, because that animal was looked upon as fortunate, or a lucky omen, by the Chinese. From this prodigy having gained great reputation among the people, he is said to have created mandarins, or officers, under the name of the Dragon. He called one, whose employment was to compose books, the Flying Dragon; another, who was appointed to make the kalendar, the Latent Dragon; a third, who had the inspection of buildings, the Inhabiting Dragon; a fourth, who had the charge of re-

[y] Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 11—21. Coupl. Du Halde, &c. Fourm. Refl. Crit. sur Hist. Anc. Peupl. vol. ii. [z] Martin. Coupl. Du Halde in Fo-hi. Vide etiam Athanas. Kircher. China Illustrat. p. [illegible]

lieving

lieving the people, the Dragon Protector; a fifth, who had the care of the lands, the Terrestrial Dragon; and a sixth, who was to procure a communication between springs, was denominated the Dragon of the Waters. Hence we may assign a reason why the emperors of China always carried a dragon in their banners. The imperial dragon was allowed five claws on each foot, but that used as a symbol by a private person, only four. It was a capital crime for any subject to use the imperial dragon as a symbol on any occasion.

Fo-hi also instituted marriage, and all the connubial laws. He likewise obliged the men and the women to wear different habits, and confined men to women of different names. He also invented music, and had nothing more at heart than to give public marks of a religious veneration for the Supreme Being. He bred, in a domestic park, six sorts of animals to serve as victims in his sacrifices, which he offered twice a year, at the two solstices, when the tribunals, as well as the shops, were shut up. Having established a prime minister, he divided among four mandarins the government of his dominions. According to some, he sat a hundred and fifteen years upon the throne, and, after his death, was buried at a place called Chin; but the most sensible of the Chinese avow, that the length of his reign is unknown [a].

2. Shin-nong, the second emperor, invented many implements proper for tillage, and taught his subjects to sow five sorts of grain. This great benefaction so endeared him to them, that they gave him the name of Shin-nong, or *Celestial Husbandman*. He also communicated to them the art of making salt of sea-water, discovered the salutary and noxious qualities of many medicinal plants, and is considered by the Chinese as the author and prince of physic. He likewise introduced, or, at least, extended, commerce, and appointed public markets. Whilst this monarch was wholly employed in promoting the happiness of his subjects, a tributary prince, named So-sha, withdrew from him his allegiance. But he was soon dispatched by his own people, who voluntarily submitted to the mild and just government of Shin-nong. Martini tells us, that he reigned a hundred and forty years, an account which seems not to be confirmed by the generality of the Chinese historians; and that he was at length cut off by a dependent prince, who refused to obey his orders. Be that as it *Shin-nong.*

[a] Martin. & Du Halde ubi sup. Th. Sig. Bayer. Comment. Origin. Sinic. p. 288—295. in Mus. Sinic. tom. ii.

may,

may, he was looked upon by posterity as a religious prince, since he appointed two additional sacrifices at the equinoxes. By the first he intended to influence Shang-ti in favour of agriculture; and, by the other, to return thanks for the harvest, the first-fruits being then offered to him. He likewise cultivated with his own hands the field which furnished him with corn and fruits for these sacrifices. He is said by some authors to have died at Cha-hyang, a place depending on Chang-cha, called at present Cha-lin-chew, and under the jurisdiction of Chang-cha-fu, the capital of the southern part of the province of Hu-quang [h].

3. Whang-ti is represented by father Martini as a rebel, who, after he had slain his lawful sovereign Shin-nong, ascended the throne. Other historians place seven emperors between Shin-nong and Whang-ti, to wit, Lin-que, Cheng, Ming, I, Lay, Li, and Yu-wang. The last was deposed, and perhaps the rest were no more than tributary princes. Be that as it may, the best Chinese historians place only Fo-hi, Shin-nong, and Whang-ti, among the first emperors to whom arts and sciences owe their rise and progress. A regulus dependent on China, named Chi-yew, upon the revolt of other tributary princes, appeared in arms against the emperor Yu-wang, deposed him, and, in conjunction with the other princes, placed Whang-ti, then but twelve years of age, upon the throne. Fu-pau, the mother of Whang-ti, being frightened with a noise of thunder, brought him forth on a mountain called Swen-ywen. He spoke almost as soon as he was weaned from the breast. In his infancy he discovered a great deal of wit and address; in his youth a sweet and engaging disposition; and in his manhood, an uncommon depth of judgment and sagacity. He fought three battles with Chi-yew above mentioned, and defeated him; but was prevented from pursuing him by the thickness of the fogs. But, having contrived a card, which shewed his soldiers the south and the other three cardinal points, after the last action, he came up with the rebels, and put their leader to death. Some say, that, on the card were engraven the characters of the rat and the horse, and underneath a needle to point out the four quarters of the world. Could this account be depended upon, it would appear that the Chinese had something like the use of the compass, from the remotest antiquity, provided this prince preceded Christ above two thousand six hundred years, as father Martini

[h] Martin. Coupl. Du Halde in Shin-nong. Th. Sig. Bayer, Comment. Orig. Sinic. p. 298, 299.

seems

ſeems to believe. But the fact, as related, has ſo much the air of a fiction (it being impoſſible for ſuch a compaſs to direct a victorious army in purſuit of a flying enemy out of ſight), and the high antiquity aſſigned Whang-ti by Martini and others, has ſo ſmall an appearance of truth, that no manner of ſtreſs is to be laid upon either of them. Beſides, had ſo uſeful a ſecret as the compaſs been diſcovered in ſo early an age, we cannot bring ourſelves to believe, that it would ever have been loſt. But, that it was loſt for many ages, if Whang-ti invented it, can by no means be denied.

Whang-ti levelled ſeveral mountains, cut through others, made great roads to facilitate commerce, and extended the limits of his empire. According to ſome authors, it was bounded on the eaſt by the ocean, on the north by ancient Tartary, on the ſouth by the river Kyang, called among the Chineſe the Son of the Sea, which ſerved as a barrier to Whang-ti's dominions. He created ſix ko-lau, or prime miniſters, and made Tſang-kyay, one of them, his mandarin hiſtoriographer. Ta-nau, another, had the charge of compoſing the kya tſe, or cycle of ſixty years. It had on, one ſide ten characters, named Tyen-kan, and on the other twelve, called Ti-chi. The former had the denomination of the ten roots; and the latter that of the twelve branches. Every year was marked by two of them; that is, one of each ſort, which were ſo combined, that the ſame two ſigns never came together till the cycle was expired. The Chineſe at preſent call this cycle Lo-ſhe-wha-kya, that is, *the conſtruction of ſixty converſions* [c].

Yong-Cheng, another of the ko-lau, having diſcovered the pole-ſtar, and others in its neighbourhood, received orders to form a ſphere and kalendar; but the figure of this original ſphere is not known. He alſo attained to great ſkill in foretelling the changes of the weather and air. Li-chew's office being to regulate numbers and meaſures, he invented the following method to caſt up any ſum: he took a little box, divided into two parts, croſſed with ſeveral iron wires, through which paſſed little balls. On every wire in the upper diviſion he placed only two balls, each ſtanding for five; but every wire of the lower diviſion, being much larger, had five balls, each of which ſtood for one. When he reckoned from right to left, the numbers multiplied the ſame as in cyphering with us. This

[c] Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hiſt. lib. i. p. 25—31. Du Halde in Whang-ti. Coupl. Præf. ibid. p. 14. Th. Sig. Bayer, ubi ſup. p. 299—303.

method of casting accounts, especially in the sexagenary calculus, father Martini seems to prefer to any used in Europe. With regard to measures, the same Li-chew determined the dimension of a line by a grain of millet, and reckoned ten lines to an inch, ten inches to a foot, &c. The various ways of ranging these grains, which are of an oval figure, have occasioned a diversity in the measures under different dynasties. Ling-lun, the fifth prime minister, had the care of improving music, in consequence of which, he took upon him to explain the order and arrangement of the different tones. And lastly, Yong-ywen, the sixth, in pursuance of the orders he received, made twelve copper bells, which represented the twelve months of the year [d].

Whang-ti afterwards invented the cap or bonnet called myen; several habits and ornaments suitable to his high dignity; and a variety of useful instruments, such as machines to pound rice, kitchen-stoves, &c. He also found out the art of dying, suggested to him by the feathers of the pheasants, as well as various colours of birds and flowers. His own robes were blue and yellow, to imitate the colours of the sky and earth; and in allusion hereto, some pretend he had his name conferred upon him, Whang-ti signifying *the yellow emperor*. He caused bridges to be built over rivers, and coffins to be made for the dead. Barks also with oars he invented the construction of, and taught his subjects how to make bows and arrows; as well as flutes, fifes, organs, trumpets that imitated the voice of the dragon, and drums that resembled thunder. Waggons, with oxen and horses to draw them, before his time, were not known in China. He drew models for building, and caused a palace to be erected, named Ho-kong, where he sacrificed to the Sovereign Lord of heaven. In order to facilitate trade, he coined money, which, from the figure of a knife-blade upon it, he called kin-tau. Physic likewise, if he did not discover, he made a great progress in. His empress also communicated to the people the manner of rearing silk-worms, of spinning their webs, and of making cloaths of these materials. He caused his country to be divided into chew (Q); and erected several principalities, wherein he built

[d] Coupl. Tab. Chron. Monar. Sinic. p. 1, 2. Martin. Du Halde, Bayer. ubi sup.

(Q) Every one of these chew consisted of ten she, every she of ten tu, every tu of ten towns, every town of five streets, every street of three ho-ki, every ho-ki of three tsing, every tsing of nine king, and every king of a hundred mu.

The

built cities. The empress, according to Couplet, taught the Chinese the art of dying. We are told by the same author, that his seat was at Cho-chew, in the province of Pe-che-li; and that he appropriated the yellow colour to the emperor. He is also said to have invented astronomy, music, and musical instruments; also arms, nets, chariots, architecture, the art of making earthen ware, measures, weights, &c. and to have written several books on the method of discovering diseases by the pulse. The Chinese tell us, that eighty-five emperors of three imperial families, which continued two thousand four hundred fifty-seven years, derive their pedigree from Whang-ti. This emperor shewed a greater zeal for Shang-ti than his predecessor; for, in order to prevent being hindered by bad weather from making the usual sacrifices to him in the open field, he built a large temple, wherein they might be offered under shelter in all seasons, and the people instructed in their principal duties. Without the south gate of his metropolis was a vast inclosure of arable land, which furnished the corn, rice, and other fruits appointed for the sacrifices; and without the north gate was another great inclosure full of mulberry-trees, wherein were nourished abundance of silk-worms. The same day that the emperor went to till the ground with his principal courtiers, his empress Lwi-tsu repaired to her mulberry-grove with the ladies of her court, encouraging them, by her example, to make silks and embroidered works, which she set apart for religious uses. Whang-ti died on the mountain King-shan, and was interred in the province of Shan-tong, in the fortieth year of the second cycle, aged an hundred and eleven years, whereof he reigned an hundred. His memory is even to this day held in the highest veneration among the Chinese.

4. The empire becoming elective, the son of Whang-ti was by election raised to the throne. He performed the duties of religion with great fervour and devotion; which induced Whang-ti to consent that he should succeed him, with the title of Shau-hau, that is to say, *young Fo-hi*; for, from his infancy, he had been a zealous imitator of the virtues of the first founder of the empire, Tay-hau Fo-hi. *Shau-hau.*

The mu, according to his appointment, was two hundred and forty paces in length, and one in breadth. The whole country he divided into an hundred principalities, to every one of which he allotted an hundred li (1).

(1) Du Halde in Whang-ti.

It is reported that the fong-whang, a very extraordinary bird resembling the phœnix, appeared at his coming to the crown. This was looked upon as a happy omen; because the Chinese say this bird never appears but when good kings are upon the throne. The fong-whang, according to the Chinese way of painting it, is like an eagle; but differs from that bird in the wonderful variety of its colours.

Du Halde affirms, that, from the appearance of the fong-whang, this emperor took the hint to distinguish his officers by the figures of divers birds, which they wore on their cloaths. This custom is still observed. Those of the literary mandarins were embroidered with birds in gold, as a mark of their dignity; those of the mandarins of war were adorned with such rapacious animals as dragons, tigers, lions, &c. which they considered as symbols of military fierceness. As the aforesaid bird had appeared in the reign of Whang-ti, the Chinese considered it as the forerunner of happiness; but had it not been seen for a long time before, they would have considered it as portending the extinction of the imperial family, and great commotions in the empire.

Some of the mandarins of the new creation, called kyew, were obliged to assemble the people; others governed the five sorts of artificers; and others presided over the tillage, as well as the manners of the people. This prince reformed the measures for grain, had a drum to beat the watches, cleared the channels of rivers, and smoothed the roads over the mountains. He also invented a new sort of music, that, as the Chinese pretend, united spirits with mortals, and reconciled the high with the low; from whence he received the name of Ta-ywen *.

The emperor Shau-hau increased the pomp and solemnity of the sacrifice offered to Shang-ti by harmonious concerts of music. The greatest part of his reign was peaceable and quiet; but the last years of it were disturbed by the conspiracy of nine chu-hew, or feudatory princes, who endeavoured to overturn the established system of government. According to some authors, these nine reguli, whom some have called kyew-li, disturbed the order of sacrifices, terrifying the people with spectres and goblins, which gave rise to superstitions, and brought the empire into great danger. Martini makes Kyew-li to have been a

* Abdallah Abu Said Beidauæus in Hist. Sinic. Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 32, 33. Du Halde in Shau-hau. Coupl. ubi sup. p. 1.

single

single impostor, and to have frighted the people with his delusions. The same author likewise insinuates, that he introduced idolatry and polytheism among the Chinese. Shau-hau died during the aforesaid troubles, after he had reigned eighty-four years, and acquired the esteem and love of his subjects, by the mildness and goodness of his disposition. He was born, reigned, and was buried, at Kyo-few in the province of Shan-tong; and, though he left four sons, Chwen-hyo, either the nephew or grandson of Whang-ti was chosen for his successor [f].

5. The people, towards the close of Shau-hau's reign, began to intrude into the sacred ministry, each family affecting to have sacrificers among them; which abuse Chwen-hyo reformed, by annexing the priesthood to the crown, and ordaining, that none but the emperor should offer solemn sacrifices to the Lord of heaven. He extirpated the race of the nine inchanters, who were the principal authors of the late tumults. He appeased also the minds of the people, and restored order in the sacrifices. Having reflected on the inconvenience of assembling an active restless people in the same place where the emperor came to sacrifice, he separated the place of instruction from that of sacrifices, and established two mandarins, elected from among the sons of the deceased emperor, as presidents. One of these was charged with the whole ceremonial, and the other took care of the instruction of the people. He likewise settled rules for choosing the victims, ordering that they should neither be lame nor defective; nor of any other animals but the six kinds appointed by Fo-hi. He moreover commanded them to be well fed, and of a colour agreeable to the four seasons wherein they were offered. The Chinese say, that this emperor was an excellent astronomer, and that he changed the method of calculating and observing the celestial motions. As these motions were to be viewed at a distance, he invented an instrument to give a more adequate idea of them; but the figure and construction of this we are ignorant of. We are told, that, in this emperor's reign, there happened a most remarkable conjunction of five planets in the constellation She; but a Chinese astronomer has remarked, that this was only an hypothetical conjunction.

Chwen-hyo.

Chwen-hyo regulated the kalendar also, ordering that the year should begin the first day of the month wherein the conjunction of the sun and moon should fall nearest the 15th degree of Aquarius; whence he is called the fa-

f Martin. & Du Halde ubi sup.

ther and author of the ephemerides. He pitched on the time when the sun was in the middle of that sign; because then the earth is adorned with flowers and plants, the trees resume their verdure, and nature seems to be in her bloom. He likewise appointed one mandarin to preside over the mines, another over the waters, forests, &c. and afterwards raised them to the most important posts in the empire. Chwen-hyo reigned seventy-eight years, died in a very advanced age, and was interred at Pu-yang. His seat was at the town of Wha, in the province of Mallet. Ti-ko, or Kau-sin, the emperor Shau-hau's grandson, succeeded Chwen-hyo, whose numerous descendents had afterwards several little provinces conferred upon them, whereof they were kings, or tributary princes.

6. Ti-ko was raised to the throne by the suffrages of all the orders of the state; and was addicted to the worship of Shang-ti, and the religious observation of the ceremonies, as much as any of his predecessors. The great devotion of this prince, and his empress Ywan Kyang, was rewarded with a son called Hew-tsyé, from whom sprang a glorious posterity, dignified with a great number of emperors [s].

Ti-ko is greatly extolled by the Chinese writers, as a prince of a penetrating judgment, who examined all things himself, and entered into the minutest particulars. He was extremely popular, had a sincere affection for his subjects, and was a most bountiful and munificent prince. He established masters to teach the people virtue, and invented vocal music. Hyen-ho was the first who composed songs by his order. Flutes, both direct and transverse, drums, bells, and other musical instruments, were first made by his direction. He caused that music to be played, which he called lu-ing, that is, *the beauty of heaven, earth, and the four seasons.* He took four wives, and introduced polygamy among the Chinese. By the first of these he had a son named Ki, whose descendents founded the dynasty of Chew; by the second Sye, whose posterity founded that of Shang; by the third Yau; and by the fourth Chi, who succeeded him in the government of the empire. He fixed his residence in the province of Honan, upon the spot where the city of Yen-su stands. His brothers and their sons he created sovereign princes in the province of Se-chwen, and died in the thirty-second year of the sixth cycle, aged one hundred and five, after he had reigned seventy years.

s Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 33, 34, 35. Du Halde in Chwen-hyo.

7. Chi,

7. Chi, who swayed the sceptre after the former emperor, was the son of Ti-ko by his fourth wife Chang-i, who seemed to possess no good qualities worthy of the throne. At first, however, the people conceived some opinion of his merit, and not without reason, according to father Martini. But afterwards he made his authority entirely subservient to his brutal pleasures. As he indulged himself in the use of women, and intoxicating liquors, without limitation, the tributary princes, who were accustomed to obey wise emperors, could not bear his licentious and dissolute conduct. Having, therefore, in vain admonished him to reform, they deposed and banished him, setting his brother Yau on the throne. He is said to have reigned eight years, having been dethroned in the fortieth year of the sixth cycle, and is not reckoned by father Martini among the emperors. *Chi.*

8. Yau is considered as the first legislator of the Chinese, and the model of their sovereigns. Virtue, according to writers of his nation, was natural to him, and nothing was wanting in him to form a complete and perfect character. He not only became a pattern for all his successors, but brought the sciences to their utmost perfection; which, according to the I-king, he could never have done, and that within the first sixty years of his reign, if it had not been for the extraordinary assistance of Tyen. In fine, he was the delight of his subjects, his reign having been so amiable, that the Chinese philosophers usually inforced their maxims of morality from their uniformity with the conduct of this emperor, and his two successors; which conformity, once proved, gave them an indisputable authority [h]. *Yau.*

This emperor, taking great pleasure in observing the heavens, ordered Hi and Ho, two eminent mathematicians, to examine carefully the motions of the celestial bodies, and also to make proper instruments for such observations. By their assistance, he regulated the twelve lunar months, and re-established the intercalated ones, which returned seven times in nineteen years. He is said to have erected six supreme tribunals, which still subsist; and, by the reputation of his singular virtue, to have drawn several neighbouring nations into his dominions. In order to make room for these, he attempted to drain the plains

h Vide etiam Couplet. ubi sup. p. 2. Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 36. Du Halde in Chi. Coupl. ubi sup. p. 3. Confucius apud Mart. Martin. ubi sup. p. 37. ut et ipse Martin. ibid. Lib. Sinic. Dict. Shu-King apud Du Halde, ut & ipse Du Halde in Yau.

which were overflowed, by opening a paſſagé for the waters to the ſea. He aſſociated with him in the empire one Shun, a huſbandman, whoſe virtue, probity, and patience, under the ſevereſt trials, joined to the confidence which all good men repoſed in him, and to an infinity of other excellent qualities, rendered him worthy of the throne. His empreſs had the care of breeding ſilk-worms, and brought the ſilk manufactures to a ſurpriſing degree of perfection. We are told, that in the reign of Yau, the ſun did not ſet for ten days; and that the Chineſe were then afraid of a general conflagration. Various ſerpents of a monſtrous ſize are likewiſe ſaid about the ſame time to have appeared. Yau lived twenty-eight years in perfect harmony with his new colleague, to whom he had given both his daughters in marriage, and died in the hundred and eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned ninety years, according to Martini, or a hundred, if we follow Du Halde. The people, who had experienced in this truly amiable prince all the love and tenderneſs of a parent, mourned for him three whole years [i].

Shun. 9. Shun, though of mean extraction, was appointed by the late emperor his ſole heir, to the excluſion of all the princes of the blood, and even in oppoſition to all the remonſtrances of the ſucceſſor himſelf, who did not think himſelf qualified to be placed at the head of ſo great an empire. Immediately after his acceſſion, he paid his ſolemn homage to Shang-ti, and afterwards enacted thoſe wiſe laws, whereon the government of the empire is founded. He created mandarins, and gave excellent precepts relating to the five principal duties, of the king and the ſubject, father and children, huſband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and of friends among themſelves. As his example gave great weight to thoſe precepts, his ſubjects were entirely influenced by them. He was, therefore juſtly reckoned one of the moſt excellent Chineſe lawgivers, as well as his predeceſſor. Soon after Yau's deceaſe, Shun truſted the government to his miniſters, and ſhut himſelf up three years in that prince's tomb, the more freely to vent his grief for the loſs of a monarch whom he conſidered as his father. But, having diſcharged his duty of piety and gratitude towards Yau, he took poſſeſſion of the imperial palace, and received the homage of all the tributary princes. Finding abundance of gold and jewels in the palace, he cauſed a ſphere to be made, exhibiting the ſeven planets; each of which was repreſented by the pre-

[i] Martin. Coupl. & Du Halde, ubi ſup.

cious stone most suitable to it. He always honoured philosophers and men of learning with his favour and protection. The provinces he visited every year; and, in his progress, rewarded or punished the reguli with so much justice, that he gained the esteem and admiration of all his people.

During his reign, agriculture flourished, and plenty everywhere prevailed. For which end he forbad the governors, under severe penalties, to exact a day's work from any husbandman, as this must naturally tend to discourage industry, and obstruct the progress of tillage. He filled all the important posts in the state with persons of merit and capacity; and, by one of his ordinances, he permitted any of his subjects to set forth on a table, exposed to public view, whatever could be found blameable in his own conduct. Lastly, in the choice of a successor, he consulted the good of his people, by giving them another prince like himself in the person of Yu, though this was done to the exclusion of his own family.

We are told by Martini, that the Tartars, for the first time, in this prince's reign, made an irruption into China; but that they were soon obliged to retire into their own territories. Yu, before he was adopted by Shun, had recovered the drowned lands abovementioned; an aim which his father had not been able to effect. After thirteen years indefatigable labour, he levelled mountains, turned the great rivers into their natural channels, drained the lakes and marshes, confined several rapid torrents between banks, and divided the lesser rivers into different canals, which terminated in the sea. By these means he enlarged the provinces, and rendered them more fertile; which important service greatly contributed to his advancement, as well as his singular merit.

Shun lived seventeen years after he had raised Yu to the throne; and died at the age of one hundred and ten. He was buried in the province of Shen-si, and deeply regretted by all his subjects. He has been greatly celebrated by the famous Confucius, and the Li-ki, as well as the best Chinese writers of all succeeding ages [k].

As the most authentic Chinese historians seem to agree, that their chronology, before the time of Yau, who associated Shun with him in the empire, is by no means to be depended upon, and as those historians seem not to have used the computation of cycles before the reign of that prince; we are hereby sufficiently authorized to con-

k Mart. Martin. Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 43—47. Du Halde in Shun. Confucius apud Martin. in Yaus, Sinic. Hist. lib. i. p. 37. Lib. Sin. Dict. Li-ki apud Du Halde, ut & ipse Du Halde, ibid.

clude our history of the ancient Chinese with the death of Shun. For this conduct another reason, also, of no small weight, may be assigned: The crown of China became hereditary in the family of Yu, who succeeded Shun; and the Chinese dynasties, of which that called Hya was the first, immediately commenced upon that prince's accession. As those dynasties, therefore, still continue, the commencement of them, by an European historian, may be considered as a new æra, at which the modern history of China will very naturally begin. In the mean time, to the preceding account of the ancient Chinese, we shall beg leave to subjoin the following reflections [1].

Much of the early Chinese history fabulous.

1. The Chinese history, from the time of Fo-hi to the death of Shun, has in the main manifestly the air of a fiction. The great progress those two monarchs, as well as all the intermediate princes, made in some one at least of the liberal arts, if we suppose them to be as ancient as many of the missionaries, together with the Chinese, pretend, is utterly improbable. The number of people there must have been in China, according to the aforesaid history, during the reigns of all those monarchs, will also, upon the above mentioned supposition, as well as the superior politeness of that people, to every sober and intelligent person appear absolutely incredible. The fabulous incidents likewise, with which the history of those reigns is interspersed, and which are obvious to every one who peruses the foregoing account, set this point beyond dispute. So that as the greatest part of the Chinese memoirs of all the emperors of China, preceding Yu, have the principal distinguishing characteristics of fiction, they cannot well be viewed in any other light than that in which we are here considering them?

Chinese chronology to the reign of Yu false.

2. That the Chinese chronology to the reign of Yu is very inaccurate, most clearly appears from the foregoing history. Nor can all the efforts of some of the missionaries overturn this glaring truth. For, not to insist upon the certainty of the Hebrew chronology, to which the generality of the learned seem willing to adhere, the history whose authority supports it savours greatly of fiction, as is allowed even by the most rational Chinese, and missionaries themselves. We say the history, whose authority supports it; since in reality the Chinese chronology to the reign of Yu is void of every other support. For nothing besides that authority can be urged in favour of it, except the testimony of Confucius, and other ancient writers, the

[1] Mar. Martin. ubi sup. p. 42. Du Halde in Introduct. & alib.

epi-

opinion of the Chinese, and their astronomical observations. Now the testimony of Confucius, and other authors who lived many ages after these early princes, that the history of them was extant in their time, and that it was then commonly believed they had existed, will by no means prove the reality of such existence, nor consequently evince their high antiquity. The opinion of the Chinese will indeed prove their zeal for their own antiquities, but by no means evince the genuineness of them. And as for astronomical observations, the Chinese were incapable of making any, at least with tolerable precision, till many ages after the death of Shun; and, even had not this been the case, they might have feigned solar and lunar eclipses, planetary conjunctions, &c. in order to please, flatter, and amuse their emperors. For such false conjunctions often occur in the Chinese history, especially at the change of dynasties; and, as for eclipses, we find none mentioned by the Chinese writers, before the second year of the fourth cycle, in the reign of Chong-kang, about sixty years after the death of Shun. So that the Chinese chronology, for the period we have here considered, must be looked upon as indefensible [m].

The celestial observations of the Chinese frequently fictitious.

3. To confirm what is here submitted to the judgment of the learned, we must beg leave farther to remark, that some of the earliest celestial observations of the Chinese are full as romantic as any thing else that occurs in their history of the nine first emperors. Father Martini informs us, that, according to the Chinese, in the reign of Yau, the sun was observed not to set for ten days; a phænomenon which rendered the people apprehensive of a general conflagration. Now will any person be so sanguinely disposed in favour of Chinese veracity, as to suppose this a real observation? And, if not, will it not shake the authority of their other observations, especially when they exceed all belief, or at least are not founded upon a proper degree of probability? Nothing, therefore, can be more uncertain and chimerical than the conclusion drawn from the eclipse that is said to have happened in China 2155 years before the birth of Christ, in support of a fabulous and romantic antiquity [n].

Chinese historical period of time begins after Yu.

4. From what has been advanced it will follow, that the Chinese historical period of time must have commenced at least considerably later than the reign of Yu. Father Fouquet, bishop of Eleutheropolis, has obliged the learned

[m] Vide Not. ad Du Halde in Chwen hyo. [n] Mar. Martin. ubi sup. p. 37. P. Premare in Lettr. edifiant. tom. xix. p. 405.

world with a table, that fixes the æra of the Chinese history, so far as it is genuine, about four hundred years before Christ; and he even affirms, that some, not without strong reasons, believe, that it might be brought lower still. He allows, indeed, the Chinese nation to be almost as old as the deluge; but denies, that their history deserves much credit, if we ascend higher than four hundred years before Christ. Nay, M. Fourmont observes, that this opinion pretty much prevails at present among the missionaries. The table above mentioned was published at Rome in 1729. It contains three large sheets, and is entitled Tabula Chronologica Historiæ Sinicæ, connexa cum Cyclo qui vulgo Kia-tse dicitur. The founders of the Kang mo, or great Chinese annals, who are the most esteemed of all the Chinese historiographers, are also of the same sentiments.

China not peopled so early as the Chinese believe.

5. This truth likewise in some measure appears from what we have advanced in the history of the Tartars. It has there been rendered probable, that a great part of China was very thinly peopled, if not quite void of inhabitants, so late as the year before Christ 637, when the Scythians, under the conduct of Madyes, made an irruption into the Upper Asia. From whence it will follow, that little credit is due to those annals which make China to have been a powerful empire above two thousand years before. For, that it was then absolutely uncultivated, upon the former supposition, there is not the least reason to doubt *.

Shun later than the Chinese believe.

6. We are informed by some Chinese historians, followed by father Martini, that the Tartars first made an irruption into China in the reign of Shun. If this be admitted, it will absolutely overturn the high antiquity of Shun, and his predecessors, as well as the authority of those historians in the point before us. For the Tartars never committed any hostilities against the Chinese, even according to their own historians themselves, before the time of Ogus Khân Now, from what has been already observed, no one can suppose that prince to have been prior to Madyes, and consequently to have preceded Christ above six hundred and forty years. Supposing the Tartars to have been the descendents of the proper Scythians, which we think cannot well be denied, they could not have penetrated into China till many ages after Madyes;

* Fourm. Refl. critiq. sur Hist. Anc. Peupl. tom. ii. p. 402. Vid. etiam Not. ad Du Halde in Introduct. sub fin. See the History of the Turks, Tartars, and Moguls, towards the beginning and the end.

since

since the Scythians themselves only began to make a figure in the reign of that prince, having been before confined to a small extent of territory near the eastern bank of the Volga. Nor can we think it probable, that the name of Tartar, or Tatar, was known even among the Chinese till long after the Scythians made themselves masters of the Upper Asia; which conquest their later posterity have not scrupled to extend even to China itself. But such a romantic turn as this is common to all the eastern writers.

The Chinese have corrupted their own antiquities.

7. It appears that the Chinese of later ages have greatly corrupted their own antiquities. The traditional notions they had received from their earliest ancestors relating to the cosmogony, the creation of man, the deluge, and the antediluvian world, they have ridiculously applied to the ancient state and monarchy of China; by which they have brought the history of their nation, especially the first part of it, into contempt, among the sober and rational part of mankind. The Chinese have also reduced to their sexagenary cycle many transactions, handed down to them by their first progenitors, which happened long before the invention of that cycle, and thus introduced great confusion into their chronology. Nor are we to be surprised at this confusion, since they did not begin to compute their years according to that cycle, till long after the discovery of it; as the commencement of the Olympic games did not serve for an epoch to the Greeks till many years after that event happened; nor the restoration of Rome by Romulus to the Romans till the age of either Fabius Pictor, Cato, or Varro; nor, lastly, the birth of Christ to the Christians till the time of Dionysius Exiguus. In fine, that the Chinese annals cannot be depended upon, may be inferred even from Confucius himself, who hints that many of the oldest materials for such annals had been destroyed before he wrote. The present ancient memoirs, therefore, that are obtruded upon us by the Jesuits and the Chinese, must be allowed modern (R) productions, in com-

(R) In confirmation of what is here advanced, it may be observed, that neither we nor the Chinese have any thing more than fragments of the classical or canonical books, and those, as it is natural to suppose, greatly corrupted. The emperor Shi-whang-ti, in the year before Christ 213, ordered all the copies of books in the empire, except those written by lawyers and physicians, to be burnt. Nay, in order totally to destroy the memory of every thing contained in them, he commanded a great number of learned men, the next year, to be buried alive, that they might not find out a method of transmitting to pos-terity

comparison of the times to which they pretend to relate; so that scarce any thing certain can be deduced from them, though some faint emanations of truth may now and then appear [p].

What we are to think of their most ancient historical memoirs.

8. As the Chinese were almost totally ignorant of every branch of literature, when the Jesuits first went among them, what credit can be deemed due to their accounts of things preceding even the historical period of the Greeks, who were a learned, curious, and rational nation? Their great philosopher Confucius complains of a want of genuine historical memoirs in his time; and yet now the Jesuits, in conjunction with the modern Chinese, pretend to give a clear and authentic history of the monarchs of China, who lived two thousand years before that philosopher. Nothing certainly can be more absurd than such a pretension (S); and yet it would be unjust to deny every thing those

p Th. Sig. Bayer. ubi sup. p. 324. Confucius apud Bayer. ubi sup. p. 328, 329. ut & ipse Bayer. ibid.

terity the historical memoirs of the empire, which he was resolved to annihilate. He was inspired with this resolution by a vanity peculiar to himself. For, being in reality the first absolute emperor of China, he was desirous of burying all the acts and exploits of his predecessors in oblivion, that his own atchievements might shine with the greater lustre. This emperor also, in order to prevent the sudden incursions of the Tartars, as he gave out, but probably to indulge the same unaccountable vanity, built a wall from the sea to the extremities of the province of Shen-si, the reality of which stupendous work would be now disbelieved, were it not still in being. Vu-ti, seventy-three years after the death of Shi-whang-ti, having collected all the scattered fragments of historical memoirs that had, with the utmost difficulty, been preserved, obliged his subjects with an edition of these fragments. But it is probable, that they met with the same fate on this occasion that happened to the fragments of the Sibylline verses burnt with the Capitol, in the civil war between the senate and Marius, at Rome. The latter, collected from various parts, were undoubtedly so corrupted, as to retain scarce any resemblance of the originals; and the former, as we have great reason to believe, have had so many interpolations and corruptions foisted into them, that they agree in few particulars with those ancient productions whose names they bear.

(S) This most evidently appears from the translation M. Bayer has given us of the Chun çieu of Confucius. This contains a most rude, jejune, and imperfect account of the Chinese dynasties and reguli preceding the age in which he lived, that deserves not the name of a history. M. Bayer, therefore, very justly puts it upon a level with the rude memoirs of the better sort of farmers, and ci-

those fathers have related of the ancient Chinese, since Abdallah Beidauæus, a Persian author, who wrote the history of China in the beginning of the fourteenth century, confirms some articles to be met with in them. We must, therefore, observe a medium between the two extremes which at present divide almost the whole literary world, and allow that the most ancient historical memoirs of the Chinese are not entirely void of truth, though in the main they scarce merit the attention of the learned [q].

[q] Th. Sig. Bayer, ubi sup. p. 29, 30, & alib. Confucius ubi sup. Abdal. Abu Seid. Beidau. apud Bayer. pass. ut & ipse Bayer, ubi supra, p. 316.

citizens, which contain nothing more than a plain and simple account of the most obvious and common events. Nor were the earlier Greek and Roman annals more perfect or entertaining, according to Tully, and Sempronius Asellio in Gellius. Now, supposing the Chun çieu to be really as old as Confucius, it was written about five hundred years before the birth of Christ. And, if the greatest and most learned man in China at that time was no better qualified to write history, or then had no better materials for one, what can we think of the Chinese historians or historical memoirs of the remotest ages? But there is the greatest reason to believe, that this book is far from being genuine, or coeval with Confucius. For the emperor Shi-whang-ti destroyed all the historical memoirs in China about two hundred and sixty-seven years after the death of Confucius; and therefore but little of his historical works is probably now remaining. This single observation is sufficient to overthrow the authority of those romantic accounts of the first emperors of China, which the modern Chinese, and their adherents, would impose upon the world.

APPENDIX.

The Opinions of the most celebrated Philosophers with respect to the Creation of the World.

God the author of the world, both as to matter and form.

THAT the universe was created or produced out of nothing, by an infinitely powerful, wise, and good God, who, being self-existent, is the original cause of all things, is not only certain from revelation, but deducible, and has been clearly proved, from reason [a]. And though all atheists, both ancient and modern, have constantly denied, that even infinite power can create matter, and the affirmative has been thought to be embarrassed with several considerable difficulties, as our having no idea how a nothing from all eternity can be made to exist, and the seeming contradiction in supposing the world to be created in time, because then it would be separated from eternity only by an indivisible point, which cannot sufficiently distinguish an eternal being from a temporary production [b]; yet these are rather difficulties arising from our own imperfect and finite reason and conception, whereby we are not able to form a distinct idea of creation, or eternity, than any real impossibility in the thing itself: for it is no contradiction to affirm, that something, which once was not, may since have begun to exist; the true notion of creation being not a forming of something out of nothing, as out of a material cause, but only a bringing something into being, which

[a] Dr. Clarke, in his Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God. [b] Mr. Bayle, dans les Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, tom. iv. p. 1301.

before had no being at all, and which, without some cause, would not have existed; and this no man can reduce to a contradiction, any more than the formation of any thing, into a shape which it had not before, can be reduced to a contradiction[c]. And they who deny GOD's power to create matter, must fly to one of these suppositions; either that matter existed from eternity, as a passive subject of all the operations of GOD, and as a collateral principle; or else, that matter is the only self-existent being; either of which involves us in the most impious absurdities. The first supposition necessarily implies two self-existent principles, which is a direct contradiction; and the other, that it is impossible to conceive matter not to be, or to be in any respect otherwise than it now is, without a contradiction; than which nothing is more easy: for, whether we consider the form of the world, with the disposition and motion of its parts, or whether we consider the matter of it, as such, without respect to its present form; every thing in it, both the whole, and every one of its parts, their situation and motion, the form, and also the matter, are the most arbitrary and dependent things, and the farthest removed from necessity, that can possibly be imagined[d].

The several opinions, which have been held by the ancients, or moderns, as to the origin of the universe, may be comprehended under one or other of the following three; viz.

The several opinions concerning the origin of the world.

I. That the world is eternal, both as to matter and form; and had neither any origin, nor will be subject to any corruption.

II. That the matter of the world is eternal; but not the form. Or,

III. That the world had a beginning, and will suffer a dissolution, being of its own nature perishable.

The opinion of Ocellus Lucanus.

Ocellus Lucanus, whose antiquity and authority have been opposed to those of Moses[e], though he lived not long before Plato, was one of the most ancient assertors of the world's eternity; wherein he deviated from the true doctrine of his master Pythagoras. We have a short treatise under his name, concerning the nature of the universe, wherein he affirms it to be utterly incapable either of generation or corruption, of beginning or end[f]; that it is of

[c] Dr. Clarke, ubi sup. p. 83, 84. See also Dr. Nicholls's Conference with a Theist, vol i. part i. p. 26. [d] Dr. Clarke, ubi sup. p. 23, &c. [e] Vid. Oracles of Reason, p. 215. [f] Ocel. Lucan. de Univ. p. 506. inter Opusc. Mythol. edit. per T. Gale, 1688.

itself

itself eternal, perfect, and permanent for ever [g]; and that the frame and parts of the world must needs be eternal, as well as the substance and matter of the whole [h], and mankind also [i]. But his arguments for this opinion are either very absurd and ridiculous, as when he attempts to prove, that the world must needs be eternal, without beginning or end, because both its figure and motion are circular, and therefore without beginning or ending [k]; or else they are such arguments as tend to prove, that something must needs be eternal, because it is impossible for every thing to arise out of nothing, or to fall into nothing; as when he says, that the world must have been eternal, because it is a contradiction for the universe to have had a beginning; since, if it had a beginning, it must have been caused by some other thing, and then it is not the universe [l]: to which one argument all he says in his whole book is plainly reducible. And, to say the truth, he himself seems persuaded, that, however eternal and necessary every thing in the world be imagined to be, yet even that necessity must flow from an eternal and intelligent mind, the necessary perfections of whose nature are the cause of that harmony which keeps the universe together, and prevents its falling into disorder [m]. He allows God to have given men faculties, organs of sense, and appetites, not for the sake of pleasure, but fitted for final causes [n]; and expresly asserts, that the ever active being governs, and the ever passive is governed; that the one is first in power, the other posterior; that the one is divine, rational, and intelligent, and the other generated, irrational, and liable to change [o].

Of Aristotle

Aristotle also held this opinion, as is sufficiently known; and, if he may be believed, was the first, at least of the Greeks, who asserted it; for he says, that, before his time, the temporary production of the world was universally entertained, though it was a question whether it should ever perish or no [p]. His doctrine was, that not only the matter of the heavens and earth was ingenerate and eternal; but that even mankind, and all the species of animals, male and female, have subsisted from everlasting by a perpetual course of generation, without any original beginning or production; and that the earth hath for ever been adorned with trees, plants, flowers, minerals, and other productions, as

g Ib. 510. h Ib. 528. i Ib. 530. k Ib. 514. Vide also Oracles of Reason, ubi. sup. l Ocel. ibid 506, 508. m Ocell. de Legibus Fragm. ibid. p. 537. n Idem de Univ. 531. Vid. Dr. Clarke's Demonstration, &c. p. 35, &c. o Ocell. de Legibus Fragm. ubi. sup. p. 538. p Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. i. cap. 10.

we now see it to be[q]. But how this is reconcilable with what he elsewhere delivers of the natural gravity and levity of different elements, seems hard to shew: for if those elements were ever in their natural places and dispositions, according to their respective gravity, which nothing but some external violence could have hindered, it follows necessarily, that the earth once was in a very different form from what it now is, and could not possibly be inhabited from eternity[r]. The great reason, which induced Aristotle to assert the world to be eternal[s], was, because he thought such an effect must needs eternally proceed from such an eternal cause as the divine mind, which, being all act and energy, could not rest in a state of inactivity. He acknowleges, that the first principle is neither fire, earth, nor water, nor any thing which is the object of sense; but that a spiritual substance is the cause of the universe, and the source of all the order and beauty, as well as of the motions and forms, which we so much admire in it[t]. And he expressly describes God to be an intelligent Being[u], incorporeal, the first mover of all things, himself immovable[x], eternal, indivisible, and void of all quantity[y]; and affirms, that if there were nothing but matter in the world, there would be no original cause, but an infinite progression of causes[z]; which is absurd[a]. So that the true notion of this great philosopher was, that though the world had no temporary generation, yet it was produced from one supreme Deity, after some other manner[b].

These sentiments of Aristotle, as to the eternity of the world, have been embraced by many of his followers, and, among the rest, by several learned Mohammedans, who were thence named Dahrians, or Eternalists.

Of Plato's followers. Though Plato, as we shall see hereafter, did himself plainly acknowlege the world to be made by God, yet having used some expressions, as if he thought the time of its formation to be indefinite; as when he says, that the world must needs be an eternal resemblance of the eternal idea[c];

[q] Ibid. cap. 12. Vide Philon. Jud. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi, p. 940. Burnet's Archæol. lib. i. p. 180. Cudworth's Intellectual System, p. 250. [r] Vide Burnet's Archæol. lib. i. p. 182. and his Theory of the Earth, vol i. p. 31. [s] Several other reasons were given by his followers, nearly agreeing with those of Ocellus, which may be read in Philo Jud. ubi. sup. p. 943, &c. [t] Aristot. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 2, 3. [u] Νοῦς. [x] Diogenes Laert. in Vita Aristot. p. 226. ed. Amst. 1692. [y] In Phys. lib. vii. cap. 1, &c. [z] In Metaph. [a] Vid. Clarke's Demonstration, &c. p. 35. and also Cudworth, p. 253. [b] Simplic. in Aristot. Phys. lib. viii. & lib. i. cap. 1. [c] Plato in Timæo, & apud Cicer. de Univ.

his

his followers, or the greateſt part of them, who adhered to Ariſtotle's opinion in this matter, took advantage of theſe expreſſions, and explained them ſo, as if by the creation of the world was not to be underſtood a creation in time, but only in order of nature, cauſality, and dependence [d]: that is, that the will of God, and his power of acting, being neceſſarily as eternal as his eſſence, the effects of that will and power muſt be ſuppoſed coeval to the will and power themſelves; in the ſame manner as light would eternally proceed from the ſun [e], or ſhadow from the interpoſed body, or an impreſſion from an impoſed ſeal, if the reſpective cauſes of theſe effects were ſuppoſed eternal [f]. Exiſtence from eternity, and being cauſed or produced by another, were not, therefore, by theſe philoſophers apprehended to be contradictory or inconſiſtent. And as they were led into this opinion no otherwiſe than from the ſole conſideration of the Deity, viz. his benevolent will, and generative power [g]; ſo they allowed, that the world, notwithſtanding its being from eternity, might in ſome ſenſe be ſaid to be made, as being produced from another cauſe, and not ſelf-originated. And the generation of the inferior gods, and world, in this ſenſe, Proclus himſelf, that grand champion for the world's eternity, plainly acknowleges, when he ſays, that they called it the generations of the gods; meaning thereby, not any temporary production, but their ineffable proceſſion from a ſuperior firſt cauſe [h].

The later Platoniſts were ſo fond of this notion of the world's eternity, that, being on the one hand unwilling to abandon it, and on the other deſirous to ſave appearances, they endeavoured, by forced conſtructions, to wreſt their maſter's words, eſpecially his Timæus, to their purpoſe; and, as it has been long ſince obſerved, turned themſelves every way, uſing all manner of violence to the text, as conceiving they ought, by all poſſible means, to conceal and deny the generation of the world, and of its ſoul, as if it were ſome horrid thing, and not to be ſpoken of [i]. It is well known, that Platoniſm was very early introduced into the church; and even this dogma favourably received by ſome, and Origen in particular [k], and as zealouſly oppoſed by others. It may however be worth obſerving, that this

[d] Plotinus en III. lib. ii. cap. 1. & en II. lib. ix. cap. 3. [e] Idem, en V. lib. viii. cap. 12. Salluſt. de Diis & Mundo, cap. 7. Proclus in Timeum, lib. ii. p. 111. [f] Dr. Clarke's Demonſtration, &c. p. 37. See alſo the authors there cited, & Philo. Jud. de Incorruptibilitate Mundi. [g] Procl. in Tim. p. 116. [h] Procl. in Tim. p. 85. Vide etiam Salluſt. cap. 13. Cudworth, p. 253. [i] Plutarch. de Pſychog. Plat. p. 1013. [k] Vide Methodium de Creatis, apud Photium, p. 932.

doctrine of the world's co-eternity with God, was, in the sixth century, suffered to be publicly taught in Alexandria by Ammonius, the scholar of Proclus [l], and not without success.

An answer to the Platonic argument for the world's eternity considered.

To the arguments made use of by the Platonists for the eternity of the world, drawn from the nature and attributes of God, it has been answered, that though God be essentially and necessarily good, yet the communications of his goodness are the effects of his will, and not merely of his nature. For God, being a free agent, could have refrained from making the world, or could have made it otherwise; and therefore those, who make the expressions of the divine bounty necessary, in order to settle the world's eternity, and that he might always have an object whereon to exercise his goodness, take as much from his self-sufficiency, as they would seem to flatter his goodness. For God cannot be himself without his goodness; and, therefore, if his goodness cannot be without some creature to shew and display itself upon, God cannot be perfect, or happy, without his creatures; because these are the necessary issues of his goodness, and consequently the being of the creature becomes necessary to the being of God, which is the highest derogation imaginable from the absolute perfection of the divine nature [m]. All which is very true, and we do not see what reply a Platonist could make, if it were the real doctrine of the sect, that the world was an involuntary effect of his mere nature. But they plainly taught otherwise, and expresly declared, that one of the reasons why they maintained the world not to be a temporary production, was the consideration of his beneficent will [n], as well as his productive power; both which being supposed, the effect may necessarily follow, without any derogation from God's absolute perfections.

This controversy set in a clearer light.

But, on a nicer discussion, this controversy about the eternity of the world will appear to be, in a great measure, a dispute about words only. All Christians in general (except those who believe the eternity of matter, and therefore deserve not that name) agree, that God alone hath always existed; but several maintain, that he might have actually created the world, as soon as he formed the decree of producing it; whence they conclude, that the world might have existed eternally, since there is no doubt, but that the decree to produce it is eternal. On the other hand, several maintain, that it is impossible for a creature

[l] Zacharias Mitylenensis, in Biblioth. Patrum, vol. ii. p 331. ed. Paris. 1644. [m] Vide Bishop Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, p. 275, &c. [n] Αγαθοειδὴς βουλησις Procl. in Timæum, p. 116. which Words Dr. Cudworth has translated, somewhat freely, *essential goodness*. Intell. System, p. 253.

to

to be eternal [o]. But, when they come to argue, the strength of each party lies rather in making objections than solving them. This dispute, which is rendered so tedious and perplexing, would end presently, if they would but explain themselves clearly on each side, and forego the equivocal acceptation of eternity; and then the question should be thus stated: Is it possible, that God and his creatures may have always existed together? The negative would not so readily be taken; for the expression of the eternity of the world, that expression, I say, which shocks so so many people, would not strike the mind. To remove this stumbling-block still more effectually, it should be declared, that a creature which should have always co-existed with God would not be eternal, for this reason; because the duration of creatures is successive, and that eternity is a simple duration, which essentially excludes both past and future. By this essential distinction between the duration of God and that of creatures, the whole contest almost would cease, and each side find their account. It would be granted to those who deny the possibility of the creatures being eternal, that they are in the right; and it would not be denied to be possible, that God and his creatures might have always existed together; since it is certain, that the cause includes not in its idea a priority of time, with respect to its effect, and that this is more nicely true as to an almighty cause, which needs only will, to produce actually whatever it pleases. Again, they who say, that the creatures have not always co-existed with God, must grant, that God existed before they did. There was then a before, when God existed alone; therefore it is not true, that God's duration is an indivisible point; whence it follows, that time preceded the existence of creatures: which consequences drive those, who argue in this manner, to contradict themselves; for if the duration of God be indivisible, without past or future, time and creatures must have begun together; and if so, how can it be said, that God existed before the existence of his creatures [p].

The two seemingly insuperable arguments then for the eternity of the world are drawn from the eternity of God's decree for its creation, and the indivisibility of the real duration of God: which yet have been answered in this manner! It is supposed, that, among the possible beings which God knew before he made the decrees of creation, one was

[o] Vide Joh. Philopon. contra Proclum. p. 4. & Cudworth. p. 887.
[p] Bayle Dict. Hist. art. Zabarella, Jaques. rem. H. See also Epist. Abi Jaafer Ebn Tofail de Hai Ebn Jokdhân, edit. a Pocock. p. 105, 106, and Mr. Ockley's English Translation, p. 83.

a successive duration, which hath neither beginning nor end, and whose parts are as distinct from one another, as those of possible extension, which God likewise knew before his decrees, as infinite according to the three dimensions. He has left in the state of possible things one part of this infinite duration, and has decreed the existence of the other. He chose such moment as he pleased, in this ideal duration, for the first which should exist, and annexed thereto the act by which he decreed the creation of the world: so that the eternity of that act does not prove the eternity of the world; nor does the indivisibility of God's real duration prove the world had no beginning [q].

The opinion of those who held the universe to be God.

Some modern asserters of the world's eternity have gone on very different principles from these ancients, and ventured to affirm the material universe to be self-existent, and the supreme Deity itself. This is the doctrine of Spinosa, the first, as is supposed, who reduced atheism into a system, by regular deductions, after the method of the mathematicians. But as the fundamental opinion, whereon he erected that system, was not new, it may be proper, before we speak of him, to say something of those who led him the way, though he has departed from them in some respects.

The opinion of Xenophanes and his followers.

That the universe is but one substance, and that God and the world are but one and the same thing, hath been an opinion of some standing, and is supposed to have been first taught by Xenophanes, the founder of the sect afterwards called the Eleatic. He is said to have held not only the eternity and immutability of the world [r], but also, that whatever existed was one being; that there was neither any generation nor corruption; that this one being was immoveable, and remained always the same [s], and was the true God [t]; which doctrine was not only defended by his successors, Parmenides, Melissus, and Zeno of Elea, but by Stilpo, and the Megaric philosophers also. And to obviate the objection, which might be brought against the unchangeable nature of the universe, from the continual alterations made therein by new generations and corruptions, they maintained, that whatever changes it seemed to suffer, were no more than illusions of our senses, and mere appearances. Which last retreat they are easily beaten from: for since they cannot deny, that there are changes in

q Bayle, ubi supra. r Plutarch. apud Euseb. de Præparat. Evang. lib. i. cap. 8. & lib. xv. cap. 25. s Aristocles de Philosoph. apud eund. lib. xiv. cap. 17. Vide etiam Aristot. de Xenophane, Zenone, & Gorgia, in initio; & Cicer. in Lucullo. t Cicer. Quæst. Acad. lib. ii. Vid. etiam Sextum Empiric. in Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. lib. i.

the world, in appearance at least, it even thence follows, that nature is not immutable, but must necessarily be changed in the subject which produces or receives our sensations; and those sensations, being passions, imply both an efficient cause, and a passive principle, which overthrows at once their pretended unity of all things [u].

Of Strato Lampsacenus. Whether Strato of Lampsacus held the unity of all things or no, is a doubt; for though he made nature inanimate, and acknowleged no God but nature [x], yet it is not certain, that he taught the universe, or nature, to be one simple being. From his ridiculing the atoms of Democritus [y], it has been thought reasonable to imagine, that he admitted no difference between the parts of the universe; but this is allowed to be no necessary consequence. It may be only concluded, that his opinion approaches infinitely nearer to Spinosism than the corpuscular system. There is likewise some room to believe, that he did not teach, as the atomists did, that the world was a new work, and produced by chance; but, as the Spinozists do, that nature produced it necessarily, and from all eternity [z]. Plutarch indeed tells us, that he held that which was natural to follow that which was fortuitous [a]; as if he allowed something to chance, a first motion, or impression at least, which was afterwards perfected by nature, or the plastic life, supposed by him to be in every part of matter; making the mundane system to depend upon a certain mixture of chance, and plastic, or orderly nature, both together [b]. But as his opinion is represented by Lactantius [c], he rejected all chance, which was the great difference between him and the Epicureans, and affirmed, that nature had in itself a generative and vital power, but had neither sense nor figure; so that all things were, as he imagined, generated of their own accord, without the assistance of any Former, or Author.

Of Alexander the Epicurean, and some heretical Christians. But, whatever was the real notion of this greatest of the Peripatetic philosophers [d], it is certain, that Alexander the Epicurean, who is supposed to have been contemporary with Plutarch [e], maintained, that God is matter, or not distinct from it; that all things are essentially God, and that forms

[u] Vide Aristocl. ubi supra. [x] Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. i. & Quæst. Acad. lib. ii. Lactant. de Ira Dei, cap. 10. [y] Cicero Quæst. Acad. ubi supra. [z] Bayle Dict. Hist. art Spinosa, rem. A. [a] Plutarch. adv. Coletem, p. 1115. [b] Vide Cudworth's Intell. System, p. 108. and Bayle's Dict. loco citato. [c] Lactantius de Ira Dei, loco citato. [d] So Plutarch calls him in the passage above quoted. [e] Thomasius Differtat. xiv. ad Philosoph. Stoic. p. 199.

are imaginary accidents, which have no real existence; and therefore he held all things to be substantially the same[f]. Some heretical Christians have also embraced this extravagant opinion; as one Amalric in particular, whose dead body was taken up and burnt, in the beginning of the thirteenth century[g], for having in his life-time taught, that all things were God, and God was all things, and the essence of all creatures; so that the Creator and creature were the same; and that God was therefore called the end of all things, because all returned into him[h]. Which sentiments of his were followed by his scholar David of Dinant, and several others[i]; the learned Peter Abelard having also been accused of holding the same opinion[k].

The dogma of the soul of the world.

Nor has this notion been confined to Europe only; it having also made no small progress in the East, among the Japanese and Mohammedans; and the dogma of the soul of the world, which is not only common at this time in the East, but was so among the ancients, and made the chief part of the Stoic system, is at the bottom the same with that of Spinosa[l]: but as he differed from the Stoics, not only in contracting God's knowlege, which they allowed to be universal, and in denying his providence, but also in asserting the present disposition of the world to have been necessary and eternal, and consequently subject to no decay, contrary to their express doctrine, it will be more proper to consider that opinion under the next head. We shall only observe here, that some heterodox Stoics, as Boëthius in particular, did not only deny the world to be an animal, or intelligent being[m], substituting in the room of its mind or soul a plastic nature; but also asserted the world's eternity and incorruptibility, or one constant and invariable course or tenor of things[n]. The elder Pliny seems also to have been of this opinion; for he declares, that the world, and that which by another name is called heaven, by whose circular motion all things are governed, ought to be believed to be an eternal and immense deity, such as was neither made, nor will ever be destroyed[o].

f Albertus Magnus, in 1 Physic. Tract. 3. cap 13. g V. Prateolum, in Elencho Hæref. voce Amalricus, p. 23. He adds, that, according to some authors, this heretic, and his adherents, were burnt alive. h Thomasius, loco citato, ex Gerson. Tractat. de Concordia Metaphys. cum Logic. i See the author just cited, and Bayle Dict. Hist. art. Spinosa, rem. A. k Bayle, ibid. l Ibid. m Diog. Laert. in Vita Zenonis Cit. p. 455. n Philo. Jud. de Incorruptibil. Mundi, p. 947. Posidonius and Panætius also maintained the world to be eternal, ibid. o Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 1.

Spinosa

Spinosa taught, that there is no difference of substances, but that the whole, and every part of the material world, is a necessary existent being, and consequently infinite[p]; that there is no other God but the universe[q], and that extension is one of his attributes[r]: that since it is absolutely impossible for any thing to be created or produced by another, and also absolutely impossible for God to have caused any thing to be, in any respect different from what it now is[s]; every thing that exists must needs be a part of the divine substance, not as a modification caused in it by any will or good pleasure, or wisdom in the whole (for he expresly denies God to act by any freedom of will[t], or for the sake of final causes[u]), but as of absolute necessity in itself, with respect to the manner of the existence of each part, no less than with respect to the self-existence of the whole. So that the opinion of Spinosa evidently comes to this; that the universe, or material world, is God, or the self-existent being; and that all particular beings, corporeal extension, the sun, moon, plants, animals, men, their motions, ideas, imaginations, and appetites, are all necessary modifications of him[x]. *The opinion of Spinosa.*

This monstrous system, though it has met with some patrons, has yet been sufficiently exposed and confuted by even the weakest of its adversaries[y], and indeed carries its antidote along with it. For Spinosa, to avoid the above mentioned insuperable objection made to the Eleatics, who held the universe to be immutable, falls into a worse extremity, and attributes a continual change and corruption to the divine nature, in respect of its various modifications: which doctrine shocks common sense, it being horrible to suppose the Deity both the cause and subject of all the moral and physical evils, which are so frequent in the world; and what can be more absurd than to imagine matter, the vilest of all things, the theatre of all changes, and the field of battle of contrary causes, to be that supreme, perfect being, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning[z]? The very foundations of this hypothesis are in a moment overturned, if we admit either a vacuum, or the divisibility of matter, the one destroying the infinity, and the *Confuted.*

p Spinosa, in Ethic. part. i. prop. vi. vii. and viii. q Ibid. prop. xiv. r Ibid. in schol, ad prop xv. & part. ii. prop. ii. s Ibid. part i. prop. vi. & xxxiii. t Ibid. prop. xxxii. corol. 1. u Ibid. in append. ad prop, xxxvi. x See Dr. Clarke's Demonstr. &c. p. 28, &c. & Bayle Dict. Hist. art. Spinosa, rem. DD. y Vide Bayle, ibid. rem. M, & P. z Jam. i. 17. See Bayle Dict. Hist. ubi sup. rem. N.

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other the unity of God [a]; and therefore the Spinosists constantly deny both, ridiculously pretending, that there can be no division of matter, unless one part be separated from the other by empty space. It seems also impossible, according to this system, that the Deity can be an intelligent being; for perception and intelligence being really a distinct quality or perfection, and not a mere effect or composition of unintelligent figure and motion, as has been well proved [b], it follows, that God could not possibly be possessed even of that imperfect understanding allowed him by Spinosa, which, however, being wholly separate from any power of will or choice, is, in any respect of any excellency, or, indeed, to any common sense, the very same thing as no understanding at all [c]. Mr. Hobbes, who also held that there was no substance distinct from matter, being pressed in his own mind with the difficulty arising from the impossibility of sense or consciousness being merely the effect of figure and motion, is forced to recur to that prodigiously absurd supposition of the ancient Hylozoics, that all matter, as matter, is endued not only with figure, and a capacity of motion, but also with an actual sense or perception; and wants only the organs and memory of animals to express its sensation [d].

The opinion of those who held the matter of the world to be eternal, but not the form.

The second opinion, that the substance of the universe is eternal, though the form be not, was generally embraced by the ancients, who, from that established axiom, that nothing can be produced from nothing [e], concluded the creation of matter to be an absolute impossibility; but at the same time thought they had good reason to believe the world had not always been in its present state and disposition. They who held this opinion may be divided into two classes: the first endeavoured to account for the generation of the world, or its reduction into the present form, from mechanical principles only, and the activity of matter, without having recourse to the assistance of any divine power; the other introduced an intelligent mind as the architect and disposer of all things: but before we produce their several systems and notions, it may be proper to examine the principles they proceed upon more nearly.

There is no doubt but that the crtation of matter, on duly weighing the arguments for or against it, will appear

[a] Though Spinosa allows God to be one, yet he asserts, that God cannot be said to be one, or a simple being, in propriety of speech, Opera Posthuma, ep. l. p. 557. [b] Dr. Clarke's Demonstr. p. 61, &c. [c] Ibid. 55. [d] Hobbes Physic. cap. 25. sect. 5. See Dr. Clarke, ubi supra, p. 63. [e] Ex nihilo, nihil.

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to be so far from impossible, that it must necessarily be admitted [g]: for if it be absurd to imagine matter to be the only substance, as has been sufficiently shewn, it is much more so to suppose two or more eternal beings, which yet was not by the ancients thought to be contradictory; but this impious position, that God is not the creator of matter, being once laid down for truth, those philosophers who made God the former, preserver, and director of the world, notwithstanding their seeming orthodoxy, argued much more inconsistently than those who denied him to have any concern with it: for if matter was an eternal uncreated being, and distinct from God, it owed its existence to its own nature only, depending on no other cause, either in respect of its essence or its properties. And it is contrary to all rules of reason, that another being should exercise so great a power over matter as entirely to change it, and form a world out of that which had been self-existent from all eternity without being a world. If God's right to act in this manner be founded on his superior power, the same title would authorize all usurpations, and confound all notions of right and wrong. If it be said that God dealt thus arbitrarily with matter out of a principle of goodness, on a supposition of its insensibility, and precedent imperfection; the answer which has been given is, that such a work would not be so much an instance of God's goodness, as an effect of superfluous diligence, in endeavouring to put in order what he had not created, as if any order or perfection could be wanting in a being which had eternally subsisted of itself; for all accessions to such a being must be foreign to its nature, and consequently a defect. God, therefore, must, in such a case, have begun his work by an ill action, in going about to divest of its natural state a substance, uncreated as well as himself, and his own sister [h].

The absurdity of supposing matter to be uncreated.

On the other hand, they who attribute the formation of the universe to mere matter and motion, without the intervention of a Deity, though they avoid the above mentioned absurdities, yet fall into other difficulties as inextricable, by supposing the eternal motion of matter; which they are obliged to do if they will not contradict their own maxim, and admit motion at least to be produced out of nothing; but if motion be eternal, it was either eternally caused by some eternal intelligent being, which would again introduce

g Vide Bayle Dict. Hist. art. Anaxagoras, rem. G, p, 212. & art. Hierocles Philosophe, rem. A. h Hierocles apud Photium in Biblioth. Cod. cccli. p. 1380. See Bayle Dict. Hist art. Epicure, rem. S, & art. Hierocles, ubi supra.

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the Deity, whom they had excluded; or it must be of itself necessary and self-existent; whence it should follow, that it must be a contradiction in terms to suppose any matter to be at rest, or to suppose that there might possibly have been originally more or less motion in the universe than there actually was; both which are consequences too absurd and ridiculous for any to admit; or else, without any necessity in its own nature, and without any external necessary cause, it must have existed from eternity by an endless successive communication, which is also a plain contradiction; for an infinite succession of merely dependent beings, without any original cause, is a series of beings, which has neither necessity nor cause, nor any reason at all of its existence, neither within itself nor from without; that is, it is an express impossibility. A late author [i], indeed, has ventured to assert, and pretended to prove, that motion, meaning the conatus or endeavour to move, is essential to all matter; but how philosophically may appear from this one consideration. The conatus to motion in any one particle of matter must be either a conatus to move some one determinate way at once, or to move every way at once: a conatus to move some one determinate way cannot be essential to any particle of matter, but must arise from some external cause; because there is nothing in the pretended necessary nature of any particle to determine its motion necessarily and essentially one way rather than another; and a conatus to move equally every way at once, is either an absolute contradiction, or at least can produce nothing in matter, but an eternal rest of all and every one of its parts [k].

Objections to the state of matter before the formation of the world according to this opinion.

The state wherein these philosophers conceived matter to have eternally been before the formation of the world, is also liable to several objections. They generally supposed the original of the earth to have been from a chaos, or dark confused fluid mass, without distinction of elements, and made up of all variety of parts [l], but without order or any determinate form. To this chaos they attributed a certain motion, arising from the action and re-action of the first

[i] Mr. Toland, Lett. iii. [k] See Dr. Clarke's Demonstr. p. 66. 14. and 25. [l] Mr. Bayle supposes Ovid to have took the chaos to have been entirely homogeneous, because, in his fine description of it in the first book of his Metamorphoses, he says, that there was then but one face of nature in the world; which was inconsistent with what he presently adds of the disagreeing principles of which the chaos consisted; but that expression may rather be understood of the uniformity of the whole, as being equally, in every part, a promiscuous compound of all the elements. Vide Dict. Hist. art. Ovide, rem. G.

four qualities, and the different tending of the particles of earth and water downwards, and the air and fire upwards. This motion they absurdly enough imagined to have been irregular and disorderly[m], till it was stopped or changed into a regular and natural motion, either by chance or divine power; but Aristotle has long ago observed, that the supposition of such an irregular motion destroys itself; for it is impossible, that what is infinite and eternal should be moved in a disorderly manner, but must necessarily have a regular and natural motion: whence it follows, that the production of the world would rather have been an overturning, than introducing, the true natural state; for which reason, he says, Anaxagoras seemed to have been in the right, when he began his formation of the world from matter entirely at rest[n]. So that if we admit the motion of the chaotic particles to have been natural, and according to their several qualities and properties, the very possibility of matter's having continued in that state from eternity is destroyed, because we then introduce a principle which will necessarily separate the several kinds of bodies one from the other, and that in a certain limited space of time. This principle also renders the assistance of a Deity unnecessary; for if the chaos be acknowleged to have in itself all the internal power that is requisite for the separation of its parts, and the placing of every element in its proper situation, there can be no occasion for the intervention of any external cause.

To reason well, therefore, concerning the production of the world, we must consider God as the author of matter, and as the first and sole principle of motion. If we cannot raise our minds so high as to conceive a creation properly so called, which ever way we turn, we shall find ourselves driven to assertions and suppositions directly contrary to reason, and be involved in an endless labyrinth of absurdities and contradictions[o].

These philosophers right in supposing the world had a beginning.

But however they, who held this opinion, were mistaken in accounting for the origin of the world, they had great reason to assert that it had a beginning, and was once formed out of a confused chaos: for though the precise time of this formation could not have been exactly known without revelation, yet even at this day there are remaining many considerable, and very strong rational proofs, which make it exceeding probable, that this present frame and con-

[m] Plato in Timæo, apud Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. iii. cap. 2. p. 370. Ovid. Metam. lib. i. [n] Aristot. de Cœlo, loco citato. [o] See Bayle Dict. Hist. art. Ovide, rem. G.

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ſtitution of the earth, at leaſt, has been of no very ancient date. The changes which muſt neceſſarily fall out naturally in the earth in a great length of time, by petrification, the ſinking and waſhing down of mountains, the daily encroaching of the land upon the ſea, the conſumption of water by plants, and other innumerable accidents; the univerſal tradition of the moſt ancient nations, both learned and barbarous; the number of men with which the earth is at preſent inhabited; the late original and invention of all uſeful arts and ſciences; the ſhortneſs of the hiſtory of the world, which reaches up but to a very few ages; the manifeſt abſurdities and contradictions of thoſe few accounts which pretend to a greater antiquity; the impoſſibility that univerſal deluges, or other accidents, ſhould at certain long periods have oftentimes deſtroyed far the greateſt part of mankind, with the memory of all former actions and inventions, and yet never have happened to deſtroy them all; theſe, and many more arguments drawn from nature, reaſon, and obſervation, make it exceeding probable, that the formation of the earth was novel, and of no great antiquity. And it is not to be doubted, but that the doctrine of thoſe ancient poets and philoſophers, who taught that the world had a beginning, was founded on ſtill more ancient traditions, which were ſo many authorities to them as their teſtimonies are at this day to us [p].

Having obſerved thus much, it is time to take a view of the different hypotheſes, which may be ranged under this head; and we ſhall begin with thoſe who, excluding all divine interpoſition, accounted for the formation of the univerſe from the properties and action of matter only.

The Phœnician coſmogony. The firſt of them is that of the Phœnicians, which has been tranſmitted to us by Sanchoniatho, one of their own writers, and was originally taken, as he aſſures us, from the coſmogony of Taautus, who was the ſame with the Egyptian Thoyth, or Hermes [q]. He wrote, that the firſt principle of the univerſe was a dark and ſpiritual (or windy) air, or a ſpirit of dark air, and a turbid obſcure chaos; and that theſe things were infinite, and for many ages had no bounds: but, when the ſpirit was affected with love towards its own principles, and a mixture followed, that conjunction was called Deſire. This was the beginning of the formation of all things; but the ſpirit did not know (or

[p] See Dr. Nicholl's Conf. of a Theiſt, vol. i. part i. p. 26, &c. Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth, book i. cap. 4. p. 49. Dr. Clarke's Diſcourſe concerning the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, p. 252. [q] Sanchoniatho, apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev. lib. i. cap. 10.

acknowlege) its own production. From this conjunction of the spirit was begotten Mot [r], which some call Mud; others, a corruption of a watery mixture; and of this came the seed of all creatures, and the generation of the universe. That there were certain animals which had no sense, from which proceeded intelligent animals called Zophasemin [s], that is, *the contemplators of heaven*, being formed alike in the shape of an egg; immediately Mot, with the sun, moon, stars, and larger constellations, shone forth. That the air being intensely enlightened by the violent degree of heat communicated to the sea and earth, winds were generated, and clouds, and great descents and defluxions of the heavenly waters; and when they were separated, and drawn from their proper place, by the heat of the sun, and then met all again in the air, and dashed the one against the other, thunders and lightnings were ingendered; and at the noise of the thunders the before mentioned intelligent animals awoke, and were terrified with the sound, and male and female moved in the earth, and in the sea [t].

Remarks thereon. Eusebius of Cæsarea, to whom we are obliged for preserving this fragment, observes, that this cosmogony of the Phœnicians directly brings in atheism [w], Sanchoniatho having therein delivered no divinity or theology concerning the supreme God, nor concerning the inhabitants of heaven [x], or angels. Which animadversion has been approved, and pursued, by a late very learned man [y], who, with great reason, looked on this account of the origin of things as a professed apology for the idolatrous worship paid to dead men, and the several parts of the universe. On the other hand, it has been remarked, that it is well known Eusebius

[r] Mot. Bochart derives this word from the Arabic *madah*, which signifies, as he says, the first matter of things. But as Sanchoniatho makes the chaos, and not Mot, to be the first material principle, bishop Cumberland thinks it may better be accounted for from another Arabic word, which needs no such change, as he is forced to presume; and that is *matha*, which signifies to *sleep*, or *macerate in water*; *mauth*, the noun, denotes such a confusion, or solution, as is thereby made; a mucilage, as physicians speak. Cumberl. Remarks on the Cosmog. of Sanchon. p. 4. By what is afterwards said of Mot's shining forth with the sun, moon, and stars, it seems Thoyth considered the earth as a planet. Vide ibid. p. 18.

[s] Zophasemin, צופישמים *sophe shamaim* in Hebrew, or Phœnician, signifies the *spies* or *observers of heaven*. These animals were not the angels, as Bochart imagines, but the celestial bodies, which Sanchoniatho supposes to be intelligent, and therefore were adored as gods. Vide ib. p. 21.

[t] Sanchon, apud Euseb. ubi supra.

[w] Euseb. ibid. p. 33.

[x] Idem. lib. 1. cap. 9. p. 31.

[y] Bishop Cumberl. in his Remarks on the Cosmog. of Sanchon.

took all advantages possible to represent the Pagans to the worst, and render their theology ridiculous and absurd [z]; and that, if the best interpretation be put on the words of Sanchoniatho, it is not improbable that the Phœnicians supposed two principles, of which one was a turbid dark chaos, and the other a spirit [a], or an understanding prolifical goodness, forming and hatching the corporeal world into perfection [b]; the eternity of which spirit seems also to be asserted by what follows, that it knew not its own generation, that is, had no original at all. But this Phœnician cosmogony being confessedly taken from that of Thoyth, and consequently agreeing in substance with the Egyptian, which is therefore under the same imputation of atheism, judgment may be suspended, till that be considered also.

The Egyptian cosmogony. The account of the origin of the universe, given us by Diodorus Siculus, is generally supposed to be the cosmogony of the Egyptians [c], though Diodorus himself does not say so much; and is as follows. When the universe first coalesced, heaven and earth were of one form, their nature being blended together; but afterwards, as bodies separated, the world took on it the entire disposition wherein we now behold it, and the air began to have a constant motion; upon which, its fiery parts flew to the upper regions, being naturally carried upward by their own levity; and hence proceeded the rapid circular motion of the sun, and other stars. The muddy and turbid matter, after it had been incorporated with the humid, subsided in one place by its own weight, and, being agitated with continual internal volutations of the watery parts, the sea became formed, and of the more solid the earth, which was slimy and very soft at first; but, stiffening by the rays of the sun, the surface began to ferment, by reason of the heat; and some of the humid parts swelled, and rose by degrees into putrid pustules, covered with thin membranes. The humid matter, thus fecundated by the genial heat, by night received nutriment from the mist falling from the ambient air, and by day grew more and more solid by the sun's warmth, till at length the inclosed brood being arrived at

z Cudworth's Intellect. System, p. 319.

a Πνευμα; which bishop Cumberland translates *wind*.

b Cudworth, p. 21.

c Eusebius seems to be of the same opinion, though he entitles the chapter, wherein he transcribes this passage from *Diodorus* (being the 7th of his 1st book de Præp. Ev.) Of the Cosmogony according to the Greeks, in regard of their agreement in general with it, the Grecian philosophers having, as is notorious, received their physiology from the Egyptians.

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perfect maturity, and the membranes burnt up and burst, all kinds of creatures were produced. Of which those which had obtained the greater degree of heat, became volatiles, and flew upwards; those, in which the earthy concretion prevailed, were placed in the rank of reptiles, and other terrestrial animals; and the creatures, which chiefly consisted of a watery nature, repaired to a congenial element, and were called fish. At length the earth, continually hardening more and more by the heat of the sun, and by the winds, could no longer produce any of the larger animals; but they began to propagate their several species by generation. And, to obviate any objection against the possibility of the earth's producing living creatures, our author instances in the vast number of mice, which are said to be bred in the Upper Egypt, out of the putrified mud, after the overflowing of the Nile [d].

Remarks thereon. This cosmogony, as has been observed [e], agrees in substance with the former, but is more large (as later commentators use to be) in particulars, and nice attempts to a mechanic explication of the generation of the world, without any help from God [f]: and Eusebius makes the same animadversion on this latter, as he does on the former; that the name of God is not so much as mentioned therein, but a kind of fortuitous and spontaneous formation of the universe introduced [g]. To confirm which judgment, he in another place recites a passage of Porphyry, who, in his epistle to Anebo, an Egyptian priest, writes, that Chæremon and others thought, there was nothing prior to the visible worlds, and began their discourses with the Egyptian gods, which were no other than the planets and stars which fill the zodiac, or those which rise with them; forasmuch as they who made the sun the demiurgus, or architect of the world, interpreted their stories, of Isis and Osiris, and the rest of their sacred fables, altogether into the stars and planets, and the river Nile; and explained all things universally into natural or inanimate, and nothing into corporeal and living substances. From whence Eusebius infers, that even the secret theology of the Egyptians deified no other than the stars and planets, and acknowleged no incorporeal principle of the universe, nor any demiurgic reason, god, or gods, or intelligent and invisible powers, but

d Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 7, 8. The account of the cosmogony given in a spurious book, attributed to Hermes, entitled Divine Sermons, is purposely omitted, as of no authority or credit. e Vide Grotium de Veritate Rel. Christ. lib. i. sect. 16. in Notis. f Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 9. g Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. i. cap. 7. p. 21.

the visible sun only, referring the production of all things to the material, senseless, and perishable elements [h]. Herewith agrees also that concise account of the Egyptian philosophy, given us by Diogenes Laertius [i], from Manetho and Hecatæus, that matter was the first principle, out of which the four elements were afterwards separated, and all kinds of animals perfectly formed; and that the sun and moon were their gods, the one being called Osiris, and the other Isis.

From this imputation of acknowleging no deity besides stupid matter, the Egyptians have been strenuously defended by a very able man [k], who thinks what Eusebius urges against them to be of the less weight, because he plainly contradicts it elsewhere, by declaring, that that nation professed the belief of a demiurgic reason, and intellectual architect of the world, whom, he tells us from the same Porphyry, they called Cneph, and symbolically represented in the shape of a man of a dark-blue complexion, holding a girdle and a sceptre, with a royal plume on his head, and thrusting forth an egg out of his mouth, from whence proceeded another god, whom they named Phtha, and the Greeks Vulcan. The reason of which hieroglyphic is thus given: because this intellectual being is difficult to be found out, hidden, and invisible; and because he is the giver of life, and king of all things; and because he is moved in an intellectual or spiritual manner, which is signified by the feathers on his head. The egg, which proceeds from the mouth of this god, is interpreted to be the world [l]. The first most divine Being was also sometimes described as a serpent with a hawk's head, beautiful to look on; who, if he opens his eyes, fills the universe with light in his first-born region; but, if he winks, darkness is made [m]. And as for that passage in Porphyry's epistle, concerning Chæremon, where he only propounds doubts to Anebo, as desiring farther information from him concerning them, Iamblichus has given an answer to it, under the person of Abammo, another Egyptian priest, who says, that Chæremon, and those others who pretend to write of the first causes of the world, declare only the last and lowest principles, as likewise those who treat of the planets, zodiac, and other astronomical matters; for the Egyptians did not resolve all things into nature, but distinguished both the life of the soul, and the intellectual life, from that of na-

h Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. iii. cap. 4. i In Procemio, p. 8. k Dr. Cudworth, in his Intell. System, p. 317, &c. l Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. iii. cap. 11. p. 115. m Idem. ibid. lib. iii. cap. 10. p. 41.

ture,

ture, not in the universe only, but in man also; acknowledging an intellectual mind and reason first to have existed of themselves, and so this whole world to have been made [n]. From which testimony of Iamblichus, who was but little junior to Porphyry, and contemporary with Eusebius, and who had made it his business to inform himself thoroughly of the Egyptian theology, it plainly appears, that the Egyptians did not generally suppose (as Chæremon pretended concerning some of them) a senseless inanimate nature to be the first original of all things; but that as well in the world, as in ourselves, they acknowleged soul superior to nature, and mind or intellect superior to soul, this being the maker of the world [o], and many passages to the same purpose might be produced from the same writer, and from the Hermaic books now extant, among which though much is forged and spurious, yet it seems very probable, that they contain some remains and tincture of the old Egyptian and Hermetic doctrine: but we cannot omit observing, that it was thought to be so notorious and confessed a thing, that the Egyptians held the world not only to have had a beginning, but also to have been made by God, that Simplicius, a zealous contender for the world's eternity, affirms, the Mosaic history of the creation of the world by God to have been nothing else but a fabulous tradition, and wholly drawn from Egyptian fables [p].

But these different authorities may be perhaps reconciled, by distinguishing between the religion of the Lower Egypt, whose inhabitants were gross idolaters, and that of Thebais, where the worship of Cneph, the immortal and supreme God, so much prevailed, that they were not taxed towards the charge of maintaining the sacred animals worshipped by the others [q].

Before we dismiss the Egyptians, it may not be amiss to observe, that their priests also taught, that the earth had certain periods of revolutions, being destroyed alternately by water and fire, and renewed again [r].

The Babylonian cosmogony.

As to the Chaldeans or Babylonians, Diodorus says, they held the nature of the world to be eternal, and that it had neither any original generation, nor is subject to any future corruption; yet, that the order and beautiful disposition of all things were caused by a divine providence; and that whatever are now in the heavens were not casual, or spon-

n Iamblichus apud Cudworth, Intellect. System. p. 318, et seq

o Cudworth, ibid.

p Simplic. in Aristot. Phys. lib. viii. p. 268.

q Plut. de Iside & Osirid. p. 359. See also Cumberland on the Cosmogony of Sanchon, p. 12, &c.

r Plato in Tim. Origen. contra Celsum, lib. v.

taneous, but perfected by the determinate and established decree of the gods [s]. But Berosus, who ought to challenge the greater authority, both in respect to his antiquity, and his being himself of that nation, has left us the following account of their cosmogony, taken from what Oannes (of whom more hereafter) wrote concerning the origin of things. There was, says he, a time when the universe was darkness and water, wherein frightful animals of compounded forms were generated: that some men were born with two wings, others with four, and two faces; some having but one body and two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, and double privities, of the male and of the female: that of other men, some had the legs and horns of goats, some horses feet, others the hinder parts of horses, and the fore parts of men, being in the form of hippocentaurs; that bulls were generated having the heads of men; and dogs with four bodies, having in their hinder parts the tails of fishes; and horses with dogs heads: that there were also men, and other animals, which had the heads and bodies of horses, but the tails of fishes; and other living creatures having the shapes of all kinds of beasts. Besides these, there were also generated fishes, and creeping things, and serpents, and many other animals very wonderful, and having the mixed shapes of one another; whose pictures are also kept in the temple of Belus. The governess of all these was a woman, named Omorôca [t], which in the Chaldee tongue is Thalatth [u], but in Greek signifies *the sea*, and with equal propriety *the moon*. This being the constitution of the universe, Belus came and divided the woman in the midst, and the one half of her made the earth, and the other half the heaven, and the animals which were in her perished. But he says, that these things are delivered concerning the nature of the world in an allegorical manner. For the world being humid, and animals generated therein, the aforesaid god took away the woman's head, and the other gods mixed her body, which fell down, with the earth, and formed men; for which reason they are intelligent, and partake of divine wisdom. That Belus, whom they interpret

[s] Diod. Sic. lib ii. p. 136. [t] In Scaliger's Edition, Omorca. Our Author having translated this name into Chaldee, it must be derived from some other language; but, as he does not tell us what that language is, we shall not offer at an etymology of it. [u] This word is so near in sound to the Greek word Thalassa, the Sea, that one would suspect it to be forged, at least much corrupted. Perhaps it may have been written for the Chaldee or Syriac Thalitutho, which signifies *moisture*, or *humectation*, and answers to the explication afterwards given. The sea and the moon were reckoned the two sources of moisture.

Jupiter,

Jupiter, cutting the darkness in the midst, divided the earth and the heaven from each other, and reduced the world into order; whereupon the animals, not bearing the force of the light, became extinct: but Belus, seeing the country desert, though fertile, commanded one of the gods to cut off his own head, and to mix the earth with the blood which issued thence, and to form men and beasts that could endure the air: and that Belus perfected the stars, and the sun, and the moon, and the five planets[x].

Remarks thereon. From this passage we learn, that the old Babylonians expressly attributed the orderly disposition of the world, the perfecting the heavenly bodies, and the formation of men and animals, to their supreme god Bel; though they seem to have held the pre-existence of matter. It must therefore be some theology of the later Babylonians, which could with justice be charged, as it has been, with passing over in silence the one principle of the universe[y]; wherein they must have departed from the tradition of their ancestors, the ancient Chaldeans, who were celebrated for their acknowleging one sovereign Deity, or Maker of the world, as appears from that oracle of Apollo, cited by Eusebius[z] from Porphyry, where the Chaldeans and Hebrews are alone declared to be possessed of the true wisdom, as worshipping God, the self-begotten king, in an holy manner.

The account of the cosmogony in the Chaldaic oracles. We have indeed another account of the cosmogony in the Chaldaic or magic oracles of Zoroaster; but they have so little pretence to genuineness or antiquity, are so confused a medley of ill-digested notions, taken chiefly from the Platonics and Gnostics, very unsatisfactory as to the origin of the universe, and talk so much of unknown matter, the orders of invisible things, mystical numbers, jynges[a], and other unintelligible jargon, that we might be excused taking any notice of them; but, as a very learned man has thought it worth his while to extract the substance of what is most intelligible in them[b], we shall subjoin it in his own words: The Chaldeans, says he, believe, that the first of all things is eternal, the supreme God. That God, who is an intellectual light, or fire, did not shut up his fire within his intellectual power, but communicated it to all creatures; first and immediately, to the first mind, and to all other eternal and incorporeal beings, under which notion are compre-

[x] Alexander Polyhist. ex Beroso apud Syncell. Chronogr. p. 29. & Euseb. Chronic. Græc. Scaligeri, p. 6. [y] Damascius in Fragment. MS. περὶ ἀρχῶν, apud Cumberl. Review of the Cosm. of Sanchon. p. 280. [z] Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. ix. cap. 10. [a] See Burnet, Archæol. lib. i. p. 21, 22. [b] Mr. Stanley, in his Hist. of the Chald. Philos. book i. sect. 1. chap. 2. p. 8.

hended a multitude of gods, angels, good dæmons, and the souls of men. The next emanation is the supramundane light, an incorporeal, infinite, luminous space, in which the intellectual beings reside. The supramundane light kindles the first corporeal world, the empyreum, or fiery heaven, which, being immediately beneath the incorporeal light, is the highest, brightest, and rarest of bodies. The empyreum diffuses itself through the æther, which is the next body below it, and its fire less refined than the empyreum: but that it is fire, the more condensed parts thereof, the sun and stars, sufficiently evince. From the æther this fire is transmitted to the material and sublunary world; for, though the matter whereof it consists be not light, but darkness (as are also the material or bad dæmons,) yet this vivificative fire actuates, and gives life to, all its parts, insinuating, diffusing itself, and penetrating even to the very centre, passing from above to the opposite part, through the centre of the earth.

The opinion of the ancient pagan poets.

The old Pagan poets, who greatly contributed to the depravation of theology in general, have more particularly countenanced this opinion of the world's being produced from a chaos, without the influence of God. For, though they make love to preside, as it were, at the ranging of the confused matter, by which some would have us understand the Deity, or the active principle of the universe distinct from matter [c]; yet it is most probable they thereby meant no more than the agreement, or harmony, which ensued on the cessation of that intestine war of the elements; their love having his original from the chaos, as well as all the rest of their gods, which were really no other than the heavenly bodies, elements, and other parts of nature, personated, and deified. For which reason the cosmogony of the poets was the same with their theogony, or generation of the gods [d].

And of Orpheus in particular.

Orpheus, who was the great introducer of the rites of the heathen worship among the Greeks, being charged with having invented the very names of the gods, and declaring their generations, and their several actions, wherein he was for the most part followed by Homer [e], is yet said to have been perfectly silent in his theology, as to any thing intellectual, as unspeakable and unknown; and to have made one of his principles to be a dragon, having the heads both of a bull and a lion, and, in the midst, the face of a dog, with

[c] Vide Cudworth, Intell. System, p. 212. [d] Vide eund. p. 334, &c. [e] Athenagoras & Justin. Martyr, apud eund. p. 298.

golden

golden wings on his shoulders [f]. But, notwithstanding the extravagancy of Orpheus's fancy, the generality of the Greek Pagans, looking on the man, not as a mere poet, but an holy and profound philosopher, supposed all his fables of the gods to be deep mysteries and allegories, which had some hidden and secret sense under them; and therefore had a high veneration for him, as one divinely inspired; insomuch that Celsus would have had the Christians rather take Orpheus for a god than Christ, as being a man unquestionably indued with a holy spirit, and one who also died a violent death [g]. And, though he were the great propagator of polytheism, yet it has been thought, that he acknowleged one supreme unmade Deity, as the original of all things, not only from the great esteem he was in with those two most religious philosophic sects, the Pythagoreans and Platonists, he being commonly called by them the theologer, but also because they were supposed, in great measure, to have owed their theology and philosophy to him, as deriving the same from his principles and traditions [h].

This favourable opinion of Orpheus will yet be better founded, if we allow the epitome of the Orphic cosmogony, made long ago by Timotheus the chronographer, to contain the true doctrine of that poet: For he writes, that Orpheus gave an account of the generation of the gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man, professing, that he delivered nothing from his own invention, but as he was informed, on inquiry, by Phœbus, Titan, or the sun. Which account in brief is, that in the beginning the æther, or heaven, was formed by God; and that on each side of the æther was chaos and dark night, which covered whatsoever was under the æther, thereby signifying, that night was prior. He declared also, that there was a certain incomprehensible Being, which was the highest and most ancient of all things, and the maker of the universe, both of the æther itself, and of things under the æther: that the earth was invisible by reason of the darkness which was upon it; but the light, breaking forth through the æther, illuminated the whole creation; this light, which so broke forth, being said by him to be that highest of all beings before-mentioned, whose name, as revealed by the oracle, was Counsel, Light, and the Giver of Life: that these three names manifest one and the same power and might of that invisible and incomprehensible God, who is the maker of all things, and

[f] Damascius περὶ ἀρχῶν, MS. apud Cumberl. Review of the Cosmogony of Sanchoniatho, p. 280. & Cudworth, ubi supra. [g] Corn. Cels. lib. vii. p. 367. apud Cudworth, ibid. [h] Cudworth, ibid.

who bringeth that which is not, into a ſtate of exiſtence: by which power were produced all incorporeal principles, and the ſun and the moon, and the ſtars, the earth, and the ſea, and all things therein, both viſible and inviſible. He likewiſe declared, that mankind was formed out of the earth by the ſame Deity, and received from him a rational ſoul, agreeably to what Moſes has recorded. Timotheus adds, that the ſame Orpheus alſo wrote, that all things were made by one godhead of three names, and that this God is all things[a].

If this teſtimony be admitted, we need not appeal to the Orphic verſes, which are very full as to the aſſertion of a Supreme Deity. It is true, many of thoſe verſes are ſuppoſititious, and manifeſtly forged either by Chriſtians or Jews; but all of them cannot be proved to be ſo; ſeveral being cited by Pagan authors, as written, if not by Orpheus himſelf, yet by perſons of great antiquity, and well acquainted with his doctrine and traditions; and therefore, by men of good learning and judgement, thought genuine, and worthy of ſome regard[b]. However, Orpheus's theology has been preferred to that of the other heathens by the Chriſtian fathers[c]: and a late ingenious writer has ſurmiſed, that his eſtabliſhing of polytheiſm was owing rather to the neceſſity he was under of complying with the ſtupidity of the barbarous people, whom he firſt civilized, than his own approbation; being obliged to give them, not the religion which himſelf beſt approved, but ſuch a one as they were capable of receiving[d].

As to the opinion of the Orphic theologers, that God was all things; this is not to be underſtood in a groſs ſenſe, ſo as to take away all diſtinction between God and the creature; for they taught this doctrine chiefly on the two following accounts: firſt, becauſe all things coming from God, they inferred, that therefore they were all contained in him, and conſequently were, in a certain ſenſe, himſelf. The ſecond is, becauſe the world produced by God, and really exiſting without him, is not therefore quite cut off from him, nor ſubſiſts alone by itſelf as a dead thing, but is ſtill livingly united to him, eſſentially dependent on him, always ſupported, quickened, and pervaded by him: in the latter of which ſenſes, ſome Chriſtian divines alſo have

[a] Timoth. Chronogr. apud Euſeb. Chron. Græc. p. 4. & Cedren. p. 57. Vide etiam Suidam, in voce Orpheus; & Procl. in Tim. lib. ii. p. 217. [b] Vide Cudworth, ubi ſup. p. 295, & 300, &c. & Burnet Archæol. lib. i. p. 125. [c] Burnet, ibid. p. 127. [d] Idem ibid. p. 120, &c.

made

made God to be all; as when they affirm the whole world to be nothing else but God expanded; and when they call the creatures, as St Jerom and others often do, the rays of the Deity. But though the Scripture itself may seem to give some countenance to these expressions, yet they ought to be used with great caution, being easily liable to mistake and abuse; and the mistake and abuse of this one thing might possibly have been a chief ground of the both seeming and real polytheism, not only of the Greek and European, but also of the Egyptian and other Pagans; they concluding, that because God was all things, and consequently all things God, therefore God ought to be worshipped in all things, that is, in the several parts of nature [e].

Whether the preceding opinions, as to the original of the world, be acquitted of the charge of atheism, or not, it is certain, that the philosophy which derives all things from senseless matter, in the way of forms and qualities, without the assistance of a god, was of great antiquity, and as old as any records of time among the Greeks; the ancient physiologers generally making the ocean, or water, to have been the original of all things: for which reason the oath of the gods is so said to be by water, called by the poets Styx, which, being most ancient, deserved the greatest reverence, and was consequently most proper to swear by [f]. And hence the ocean is by Homer called the progenitor of the gods, and source of all things [g]: and Thales, the prince of the Ionic philosophers, held water to be the first principle, whereof all things consisted [h]; and they also supposed, that at last all things should be dissolved, and return into water again [i]. But it seems, that those ancients, when they made water to have been the first principle, did not thereby mean the elementary water, but the chaos, which was a fluid substance, as the Greek word signifies. For which reason Zeno and Plutarch took the chaos of Hesiod to have been water [k].

The cosmogony of Hesiod.

The theogony of this last mentioned poet, which, as has been observed, is also his cosmogony, is somewhat confused, beginning twice from the chaos, and relating things rather

[e] Cudworth, Intell. Syst. p. 307. [f] Vide Aristot. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 3. [g] Homer. apud Plut. de Placit. Philos. lib. i. cap 3. [h] Plut. de Placit Philos lib. i. cap. 3. Diog. Laert. in Vita Thaletis, p. 17. Cicer. in Lucullo, & de Nat. Deor. lib. i. This also agrees with a passage in Scripture, the genuine sense of which (according to the judgement of the best interpreters) is, that the material heavens, as well as earth, were made out of water, 2 Pet. iii. 5. Vide Cudworth, Intell. System, p. 21 & Burnet Archæl. lib. i. p. 138 and Theory of the Earth, book i. chap 4 p. 63, &c. [i] Homer. Il. H. Plut. in Stromat apud Euseb de Præp. Ev. lib. i. cap 8 [k] Zeno apud Scholiast. Apollon. Argon. iv. & Plut. in Tract. aquane an ignis sit utilior, p. 955.

in a poetical than philosophical order. The substance of what he delivers is; that in the beginning the chaos first existed, then the wide-extended earth, and next love, the fairest of the immortal gods; that the chaos produced Erebus and night, from the conjunction of which two issued æther and day. After which he proceeds to give an account of the separation of the heaven and stars from the earth, the raising of mountains, and sinking of caves; and of the production of the sea, from the heaven and earth together [l].

and Aristophanes. But there is a much more methodical and complete description of this ancient cosmogony given by Aristophanes [m], whencesoever he had it. He writes, that first were chaos, black Erebus, and wide Tartarus, but neither earth, nor air, nor heaven: that night, with sable wings, laid the first egg of wind in the vast bosom of Erebus; from whence, in process of time, issued amiable love shining with wings of gold, like to impetuous whirlwind; that love, coupling with the obscure chaos, ingendered animals and men; but there were no gods before love mingled all things, from which mixture of things one with another the heaven and the earth were generated, and the whole race of immortal gods.

This passage, notwithstanding it is ludicrously introduced in a comedy, is conceived, not without reason, to have been really a piece of the old atheistic system, and may be thus explained; that chaos, or matter, confusedly moved, being the original of all things, did from thence rise up gradually from lesser to greater perfection; first, inanimate things, as the elements, heaven, earth, and seas; then, brute animals; afterwards, men; and, last of all, gods: as if not only the substance of matter, and those inanimate bodies of the elements, fire, water, air, and earth, were first in order of nature before God, as being themselves also gods [n], but also irrational animals at least, if not men too. And this is the atheistic creation of the world, gods, and all, out of senseless and stupid matter, or dark chaos, as the only original deity [o].

The opinion of Thales. Whether Thales, who was a Phœnician by extraction, acknowleged any divine or intelligent being, as assisting in the formation of the world, is a great question. Cicero indeed tells us, that he was the first who searched after such things, and affirmed God to be that mind, which created all things out of water [p]. And Laertius reports, that he used to say, God was the oldest of all things, and that the world was the workmanship of God [q]. But, on the other side, there

[l] Hesiod. Theog. vers. 116. [m] In Avib. [n] Vide Arist. de Gener. & Corrupt. lib. ii. cap. 6. [o] Cudworth, Intell. System, p. 121. [p] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. p. 36. [q] Diog. Laert. in Thalet. p. 21.

are

are a cloud of witnesses [r], among whom are Cicero and Laertius themselves [s], who, with joint consent, give Anaxagoras, one of his successors, the honour of having first rejected all chance in the disposition of the universe, and introduced a pure intelligent mind, to separate and compose the several parts of it.

Of Anaximander. Thales's next successor, Anaximander, supposed that a certain infinite first matter, which he did not define either air, or water, or earth, to be the sole principle of the universe [t]; that the celestial bodies, and infinite worlds, were made of it by secretion, and that generation and corruption proceeded from their moving circularly together from eternity. He also asserted, that the generative principles of heat and cold being separated, when this world was made, a certain sphere of fire first arose, and encompassed the air which surrounds the earth, as the bark doth a tree; this, being afterwards broken, and divided into smaller spherical bodies, formed the sun, moon, and stars [u]. He held also, that the first animals were generated in moisture, and encompassed with certain thorny barks, by which they were defended; which, after farther growth, becoming more dry, and cracking, they issued forth, but lived only a short time [x]: that men were at first generated in the bellies of fishes; and, being there nourished till they grew strong, and were able to support themselves, they were afterwards cast out upon dry land. And the reason of this strange opinion, as to the original of mankind, was, because other animals, soon after their birth, betake themselves to their food; but man alone in his infancy needs to be nursed up for a considerable time, and therefore could not be preserved at first in any other manner [y].

From Anaximander's making this universal principle of his infinite, some late writers, and even Clemens Alexandrinus [z] among the ancients, have groundlessly inferred, that he thereby meant God, according to the true notion

[r] Plato in Phæd. p. 72. Plut. in Pericle, p. 154. Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 3. Tertull. de Anima. Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 364. Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. iv. cap. 14. p. 750. Themist. Orat. xv. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. viii. cap. 2. Proclus in Timæum. Simplic. in Arist. de Physic. auscult. Theod. de Græc. Affect. Serm. ii. p. 489. [s] Cicero de Natura Deor. lib i. p. 38, 39. Laert. in Anaxagora, p. 82. [t] Plut. de Placitis Philos. lib. i. cap. 3. Diog. Laert. in Anaximandro, p. 78. Simplic. in Arist. Phys. lib. i. cap. 6. [u] Plut. in Strom. apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. i. cap. 8. [x] Idem de Placitis Philos. lib. v. cap. 19. [y] Idem. apud Euseb. ubi sup. & in Sympos. lib. viii. quest. 8. [z] In Protrept p 43.

of

of him, or an infinite mind, the efficient cause of the universe, and not stupid matter [a]: but it is plain, that the gods he acknowleged, owed their original also to that infinite matter, from which he supposed all things to be secreted, and into which they would return; for he held the gods to be generated, rising and vanishing again in long periods of time, and that these gods were innumerable worlds [b].

Of Anaximenes. The physiology of Anaximenes differed but little from that of his master Anaximander; for he held air to be the first principle, and infinite [c]; but that the things which arose thereout were finite, and should at last be resolved into it again. He supposed, that all things were generated by a successive condensation and rarefaction of this air; the earth, water, and fire being first produced thereout, and then the other parts of the universe; he held also, that motion was from all eternity; that the sun gained its heat from the swiftness of its course; and that air held the world together in the same manner as the soul, which he took to be air also, did the human frame [d]. He did not, it seems, deny there were any gods; but was so far from allowing them to have formed the world, that he believed them likewise to have their rise from the air [e]. Plutarch, after delivering the opinions of these two philosophers, observes, that they were both in the wrong, in supposing the world to have been generated from matter only, without any efficient cause; matter of itself being able to produce nothing, no more than a vessel can be made out of a mass of silver, without the help of an artificer [f].

amended by Anaxagoras, and Diogenes of Apollonia. Anaxagoras and Diogenes of Apollonia, two scholars of Anaximenes, attempted to remedy this grand defect in the Ionic philosophy, by amending their masters hypothesis: the first, by admitting an intelligent being distinct from matter, as has been and will be more fully observed; and the other, by supposing the air, the first principle of the universe, to be endued with a divine reason, without which he conceived nothing could be produced from it [g]. So that this opinion differed very little from Spinosism.

The manner in which this latter philosophizes, as to the production of the world, has so near a conformity with the

a Vid. Cudworth's Intell. Syst. p. 124. b Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. i. c Diog. Laert. in Anaximen. p. 80. Aristot. de Auscult. Phys. Cicero Quæst. Acad. lib. ii. d Plut. in Strom. apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. i. cap. 8. & de Placitis Philos. lib. i. cap. 3. e August. de Civit. Dei, lib. viii. cap. 2. Vide etiam Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. i. & Aristot. lib. i. de Anima, cap. 2. f Plutarch. de Placitis Philosoph. loco citato. g August. de Civit. Dei, lib. viii. cap. 2.

Cartesian

Cartesian hypothesis, that it would be wrong to omit it: All things, says he, being in motion, some became condensed, and others rarefied; in those places where condensation prevailed, a whirling motion, or vortex, was formed, which, by its revolution, drew in the rest; and the lighter parts, flying upwards, formed the sun [h].

The atomic system, by whom invented.

The next atheistic system of philosophy is the atomic, which is generally supposed to have been invented by Democritus, who was elder than Aristotle and Plato; but Laertius attributes it to Leucippus [i], who was somewhat senior to Democritus, though he wrote not so much concerning it as Democritus did. Others make this physiology much more ancient: Posidonius [k] avouched it for an old tradition, that the first inventor of it was Moschus, a Phœnician, who lived before the Trojan war [l], and is supposed to have been the same with Mochus, the Phœnician physiologer mentioned by Iamblichus [m], with whose successors, priests and prophets, he affirms that Pythagoras, while he was at Sidon, had conversed. And indeed Pythagoras was not unacquainted with the atomical physiology; for Democritus himself was of the Italic or Pythagoric succession, and is reported to have taken all his philosophy from them [n]; and the famous monads of Pythagoras are by some supposed to have been nothing else but corporeal atoms [o]. That Empedocles, who was also a Pythagorean, took the world to be compounded of minute particles, is expressly asserted [p]; and this will appear more plainly, when we come to give an account of his physiology, and the natural principles of Ecphantus the Syracusan, another of that sect. Nor were they the only ancient philosophers who went that way; Xenocrates, Heraclides, Asclepiades, Diodorus, Metrodorus Chius, and the generality of the old physiologers, having also supposed indivisible particles to be the first principles of bodies. Notwithstanding which, Leucippus and Democritus are reputed the first inventors of the atomic philosophy, either because they brought it to greater perfection, or else because they first made it a complete and entire system by itself, so as to derive the original of all things in the whole universe from senseless atoms, which had figure and motion only, and space; from whence it would follow,

h Plutarch in Strom. apud Euseb. de Præp. Evan. lib. i. cap. 8.
i Diog. Laert. in Leucippo, p. 567. k Apud Sext. Empiric. adv. Mathem. p. 367. & Strabon. lib. xvi. p. 512. l Strabo, ib.
m De Vita Pythag. cap. 3. n Diog. Laert. in Democr. p. 570.
o Vide Cudworth's Intell. System, p. 13. p Plut. de Placitis Philos. lib. i. cap. 24.

that

that there could be no god, not so much as a corporeal one: for, before them, the doctrine of atoms made not an entire philosophy by itself, but was looked upon as a part, or member of the whole philosophic system, and that the meanest and lowest part too; it being only used to explain that which was purely corporeal in the world; besides which they acknowleged something else, which was not mere bulk and mechanism, but life and self-activity, that is, immaterial substance; the head whereof is a deity distinct from the world. So that there have been two sorts of atomists; the first, holding incorporeal substance, used that physiology in a way of subordination to theology; the other, allowing no other substance but body, made senseless atoms, without any mind or understanding, that is, without any god, to be the original of all things; which latter system is that vulgarly known by the name of the atomic philosophy, which was founded by Leucippus and Democritus [q], and afterwards, with some alteration, taught by Epicurus, though he would not acknowlege that he had borrowed his hypothesis from any [r].

Occasioned a stricter method of philosophising.

But, whoever first introduced it, this hypothesis occasioned a more strict and accurate method of philosophising than had formerly been used. For the atomists, neglecting numbers, proportions, harmonies, ideas, qualities, and elementary forms, immediately proceeded to examine the bodies themselves, and their physical and mechanical properties, their motion, figure, situation of parts, size, and the like; from whence they very rationally ascertained their several powers, determined their actions, and explained their effects; though the notions they entertained of the indivisibility of their atoms, their innate power of motion, inclinations to certain places, and the like, be not only without any foundation, but repugnant to reason [s].

The doctrine of Leucippus and Democritus;

The doctrine of Leucippus and Democritus, as to the origin of the world, was, that the first principles were an infinite number of atoms, or indivisible particles, of different sizes and figures, which, moving fortuitously, or without design, from all eternity, in infinite space, and encountering one another, became variously implicated and entangled, and produced first a confused chaos of all kinds of particles, which afterwards, by continual agitation, striking and repelling each other, disposed themselves into a vortex, or vortices, where, after many convolutions and evolutions, molitions and essays, in which all imaginable

[q] Cudworth, p. 16, &c. [r] Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. [s] Burnet. Archaeol. lib. i. p. 167.

shapes

ſhapes and combinations were tried, they chanced at length to ſettle into this preſent form and ſyſtem of things [t].

Of Epicurus. This hypotheſis, as to the formation of the principal parts of the world, agrees with that of Epicurus, as it is repreſented by Lucretius [u], excepting that no mention is made of thoſe vortices, which yet were an eſſential part of the former. To the two properties, attributed to atoms by Democritus, magnitude and figure, Epicurus added a third, weight; without which he did not conceive they could move at all [x]. And one of the inevitable conſequences of the Democritic ſyſtem being abſolute fatal neceſſity (for, when they maintained that the world was made by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms, it was not their meaning to deny the world to have been neceſſarily made according to the eternal laws of motion of thoſe atoms, but only to exclude the direction of an intelligent cauſe), and ſuch neceſſity, in the opinion of Epicurus, overturning all morality, and reducing the human ſoul to be a mere machine; in order to account for freedom of will, beſides the twofold motion of atoms allowed by thoſe before him, perpendicular and reflexive, he introduced a third; ſuppoſing that the atoms could of themſelves decline from the right line, and move obliquely, even in void ſpace, and without any colliſion at all [y]; from which, as he ſtrangely inferred, proceeded natural liberty. And this declination ſerved alſo another purpoſe, that is, to explain the meeting of the atoms; which, if they all moved one way, would have been impoſſible [z]: but the moſt material difference between the two hypotheſes, though not often taken notice of, was, that Epicurus admitted no principle at all but the atoms themſelves; whereas Democritus believed them to be animated [a]; a ſuppoſition not more abſurd than that of their exiſtence and ſpontaneous motion, and which would yet be of great uſe in obviating ſeveral objections to the atomic ſyſtem, otherwiſe unanſwerable [b].

As to the production of animals and mankind, the Epicurean philoſophy accounted for it in this manner. It was ſuppoſed, that the new-formed earth containing in it the

t Vid. Diog. Laert. in Leucippo, p. 567. & in Democrit. p. 573. Plutarch de Placitis Philoſ. lib. i. cap. 4. & Plat de Legibus, lib. x.
u Vide Lucret. de Rer. Nat. lib. v. Virgil. Eclog. vi. Plut de Placitis Philoſ. lib. i. cap. 4. and Stanley's Hiſtory of Philoſophy, part xiii. p. 572, &c.
x Plut. ubi ſupra, cap. 3.
y Vide Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 216, &c.
z Vide Bayle Dict. Hiſt. art. Epicure, rem. U.
a Auguſt. epiſt. lxvi.
b Vide Bayle Dict. Art Leucippe, rem. E. & Art. Epicure, rem. F. As to the other differences between the doctrines of Democritus and Epicurus, conſult. Cicer. de Finib. lib. i.

feeds of all things, the fun, acting by its heat on the moifter parts, raifed fmall bladders like little wombs, in which the embryos, at firft imperfect, were conceived, and through which they broke their way when arrived at maturity; and that, for their nourifhment, nature provided bags, like fmall breafts, furnifhed with a milky juice. And it is pretended, that this fecundity cannot feem ftrange, in that juvenile vigour of nature, if we confider what numbers of fmaller creatures and infects are at this day bred in the fame way; but at length the feeds of the earth being exhaufted, fhe, like a woman paft child-bearing, of courfe left off this way of producing the more perfect animals; whence it is that every fpecies is now propagated by copulation [c].

Reflections on this fyftem. This atomic fyftem, which had been fuperfeded by Plato and Ariftotle, who brought in ideas, forms, and qualities, inftead of the mechanical properties of matter, was raifed by Epicurus to a high degree of reputation, and continued to flourifh after his death beyond any other philofophy [d]; though it was juftly decried by the other fects, on account of the atheifm which naturally flowed from its principles. Had Democritus only fuppofed God to be a mind or intelligence placed in a fphere of fire, and the foul of the world [e], he would have been much more excufable than in teaching, as he did, that the images of objects, which on every fide prefent themfelves to us, and nature which fcatters round, or emits fuch images, and even our own knowlege and underftanding, were to be reckoned among the gods [f]. So that what Democritus called God, had neither the unity, nor eternity, nor immutability, nor other attributes, which are effential to the Divine Nature; and yet an opinion very like this was not long ago advanced [g], on a fuppofition that our ideas are in God, and that they cannot be a modification of a created mind; from which it feems to follow, that our ideas are God himfelf [h]. As to Epicurus, he acknowleged indeed, that there were gods, and that they deferved to be worfhipped on account of the excellence of their nature, though no benefit was to be expected from them, nor any harm to be feared [i]; for he allowed them to be neither the makers nor the governors of the world: and yet a very learned man has undertaken the defence of Epi-

[c] Vide Lucret. ubi fupra. [d] Lactant. Divin. Inftitut. lib. iii. cap. 17. [e] Plutarch. de Placitis Philofoph. lib. iii. cap. 7. [f] Cicer: de Nat. Deor. lib. i. [g] F. Malbranche's Notion of feeing all Things in God. [h] Vid. Bayle Dict. art. Democrite, rem. P. [i] Vide Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. Senec. de Beneficiis, lib. v. cap. 19. & Gaffend. de Vita & Moribus Epicuri lib. iv. cap. 3.

curus

curus as to this latter point, and maintained that he did not deny a divine providence[k]. He supposed the gods were immortal, and supremely happy, leading a life of perfect inaction and tranquility; that they were of human form, yet had not real bodies and blood, but something analagous to them[l]; and lest he should at once destroy their immortality, and subject them to destruction, he taught, that they were not composed of atoms like other beings[m], though some have, by mistake, affirmed the contrary[n]. It is well known, that this corpuscular philosophy has been revived by some moderns, who rejecting the eternity of the atoms, and their fortuitous motion, but following, in almost all other respects, the old hypothesis of Leucippus, have made a very fine system of it. This is what Gassendi has done, who differs from Descartes as to the principles of bodies, in nothing but the retaining a vacuum. The scholastic divines among the Mohammedans, who are very orthodox as to the creation of the world by God, do also admit both atoms and a vacuum; but their atoms are different from those of Leucippus, for they have no magnitude, and are all like one another; and they suppose, as that philosopher ought to have done, that every atom of a living body is alive, that every atom of a sensitive body is endued with sense, and that the understanding resides in an atom, though they differ as to the soul and knowlege, whether they consist in a single atom, or a collection of several[o].

The opinions of those, who holding the eternity of matter, admit an intelligent mind as the disposer thereof; and 1. Of those who supposed matter to be the only substance, and endued with understanding.

Those who, allowing the eternity of matter, introduce an intelligent mind as the disposer thereof into the form the world now bears, may again be subdivided into two classes; one, who allowing no substance but matter, supposed it to be endued with understanding and life, and consequently to be God; and another, who held God and matter to be two distinct and independent beings.

The first opinion, which, as has been said, differs but little from Spinosism, seems to have been that of Diogenes of Apollonia, and was certainly maintained by Hippasus of Metapontus, Heraclitus, and the Stoics.

Hippasus and Heraclitus held fire to be the first principle, of which all things were made, into which, after the revolution of certain periods, they will be again resolved, and

k Monf. du Rondel. de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, Amst. 1693, in 12mo. l Cicer. ubi supra. Diog Laert in Epicuro, p. 624. 655. 661. Plut. de Placit. lib. 1 cap. 7. Sect. Empiric. contra Math. p. 312. m Cicer. ubi supra. Lactant. de Ira Dei, cap. 10. n Tertullian. adv. Gentes, cap 47. August. epist. lvi. o Vide Maimonid. in More Nevochim, cap. 73.

that this fire was God [q], whom Heraclitus described to be the most subtle and swift substance, which permeates or passes through the whole universe [r].

The notions of Heraclitus seem to have been very confused, at least as they are now represented to us; which is no wonder at all, since he so much affected obscurity in what he wrote concerning natural philosophy, that he was thence surnamed the Obscure [s]. His account of the formation of the world was, that the fire being extinguished, the grossest parts of it coalescing, made the earth, which being loosened by the fire, produced water, and, from the exhalation of water the air was generated [t]. Hippocrates had the same notion of the Deity with Heraclitus, declaring his belief to be, that heat or fire was immortal and omniscient, and that it saw, heard, and knew all things, both present and future [u].

The opinions of the Stoics.

The Stoics held two first principles, God, and matter void of all quality, the one active, and the other passive, and that they were both corporeal [w], for they did not acknowlege any such thing as incorporeal substance [x]; by which means they strangely confounded themselves, and reduced their two principles in effect to one and the same. They affirmed God to be an immortal, rational, and perfect animal, conscious of his own happiness, subject to no evil, governing the world, and all things in it, by his providence; and the architect, and, as it were, the father of the universe [y]. But they more usually described him to be a fiery spirit, void of all figure, yet changing himself into all things; or an artificial fire methodically proceeding to the generation of the world, and containing within himself all seminal reasons or models, according to which every thing is formed pursuant to fate [z]; which is also their description of nature [a]. This spirit, they say, quickens, sustains, and pervades the whole world, and every part of it, as the soul does the human body, being called by several names, according to the different form of the matter which it animates: for which

[q] Plut. de Placit Phil. lib. 1. cap. 3. Clem. Alexandr. in Protrept. Vide etiam Ciceron. Acad. Quæst. lib. iv. & de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.
[r] Plat. in Cratylo, p. 413.
[s] Σκοτεινός. Vide Ciceron. de Finib. lib. ii. Clem. Alex. Stromat. v.
[t] Plut. de Placit. Phil. lib. i. cap. 3 Vide etiam Diog. Laert. in Heraclit. p. 551, &c.
[u] Hippocrat de Princip. aut Carnib. sect. 1.
[w] Aristocles de Philos. apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. xv. cap 14. Diog. Laert. in Zenon. Cittieo, p. 449 Senec. ep. 65. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.
[x] Vide Lipsium de Physiol. Stoic. lib ii. cap 4, & 5.
[y] Diog Laert. ubi supra, p 458.
[z] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. i. cap. 6 & 7.
[a] Diog. Laert. ubi supra, p. 465. Cic. ubi supra.

reason

reason they hold the world itself to be God, and every part of it a member of him [b]. So that this sect, in appearance, has confounded God and nature together, though their genuine doctrine seems to have been, that there was not only an intellectual conscious soul presiding over the whole world, yet lodged more immediately in the fiery matter of it; but also a certain plastic or spermatic nature contained under or within the former, and which was properly the fate of all things [c].

As to the constitution of the world, the peculiar dogma of the Stoics, which Zeno, their master, seems to have borrowed from Heraclitus, was, that in certain periods, or alternate vicissitudes of time, the universe is dissolved by fire, and re-produced out of it; God withdrawing or absorbing all things into himself by a general conflagration, and afterwards producing them out of himself again [d]. In which successive conflagrations they held, that not only the world, but all the inferior gods also, are melted down into their Supreme Deity, the intellectual fiery soul, or principle of the universe [e], who, during that interval, rests in himself, considering his providence, and entertained with thoughts becoming himself [f], till he again emits and brings the world into being; the manner of which renovation Zeno thus describes: God, being alone, changes all substance from fire, first into air, and then into water; and as the seed is contained in the plant, so God, being the seminal reason of the world, left such a seed in the moisture as might afford proper matter for the generation of those things which were to be produced; that the grosser parts of this watery matter subsiding, made the earth; the finer, the air; and those still more subtilized, the fire. The four elements being thus generated, from the mixture of them proceeded plants and animals, and all other species [g].

Of the Pendets in India.

With these notions of the Stoics agrees the doctrine which is said to be almost universal among the Pendets [h] (who are Indian Gentiles), and secretly entertained by the

[b] Vide eosd. & Plut. ubi supra, cap. 7. Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 45. & epist. 92. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. ix. ver. 578. Didymum apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. xv. cap. 15, &c. Virgil. Georg. lib. iv. ver. 221. & Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 724. [c] Vid. Cudworth, Intell. System, p. 133, &c. 423, &c. [d] Diog. Laert. in Zenonem, p. 451. Numenius apud Euseb. Præp. Ev. lib. xv. cap. 18, 19. [e] Vide Plut. adversus Stoicos, p. 1075. & de Defectu Oracul. p. 420. [f] Idem adv. Stoicos, p. 1077. Senec. epist. vi. Arrian. in Epictet. lib. iii. cap. 13. [g] Diog. Laert. ubi sup. p. 450. 454. Vide Stobæi Ecl. Phys. cap. 20. [h] We take this word to be the Malayan pandit, which signifies *a man of letters.*

fufis and learned men of Persia, being the same in substance with the philosophy of Flud, which Gassendi has taken the pains to refute. There is also a sect among the Chinese, who acknowlege nature to be the sole deity, thereby understanding that natural power or operation, which, being the efficient cause of motion and rest, produces, maintains, and preserves all things.

Of the Chinese.

But the opinion more commonly embraced at this time by the Chinese, and wherein the atheism, which has so generally infected them consists, comes rather nearer to the Stoic doctrine. The Siamese have also some agreement with the Stoics, in their notion of the alternate destruction and renovation of the universe. Their talapoins teach, that the figure or model of the world is eternal, but that the visible world is not; for whatever we see in it, lives, in their opinion, and must die; and there will at the same time be re-produced other beings of the same kind, another heaven, another earth, and other stars and, in this manner, they say, nature has perished, and been renewed several times [i].

Of the Siamese;

and the later Jews.

Nor was this doctrine unknown to the later Jews, whose cabalists are supposed to account for the origin of things, by making them emanations from a first cause, and therefore pre-existent, though perhaps under another form. They speak also of the resuming or withdrawing of things into the first being, by a revolution and restitution of them to their first state; as if they believed their En Soph [k], or first infinite Being, to contain all things, and that there is always the same quantity of Being in the universe, whether in the created, or uncreated state. When it is in its uncreated or antemundane state, God is simply all things; but when it becomes the world, the degree or quantity of being or entity is not increased, but God expands and unfolds himself by emanations and effluxes from the superior to the lower parts, whereby the different forms and orders of created beings are constituted. For which reason they often speak of greater and smaller vessels, as it were, to receive those effluxes; and of effluent rays, and of canals, through which they flow, and are propagated; in a word, when God retracts those rays, the external world perishes, and all things again become God [l]: "He sendeth forth his spirit, and they are created, and he reneweth the face of the earth; he hideth his face, and they are troubled; he taketh away their breath, they die, and return to their dust [m]."

[i] La Loubere, Royaume de Siam, tom. I. p. 381. [k] אין סוף.
[l] Vide Burnet. Archæol. lib. I. p. 8, &c. [m] Psalm civ. 29, 30.

We

We come now to speak of those who held two distinct and independent principles, co-existent from eternity, God and matter; which is supposed to have been the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato; and was certainly that of Anaxagoras, Archelaus, and several others.

2. *The opinion of those who held two distinct co-eternal principles, God and matter.*

The opinion of Pherecydes, Pythagoras.

What was the opinion of Pythagoras's master, Pherecydes of Syros, as to the origin of the world, is somewhat uncertain: from the first words of a treatise of his, extant in the time of Diogenes Laertius, which are indeed somewhat corrupted and obscure, it seems he believed three eternal beings, Jupiter or God, time, and the earth [n]. But Pythagoras himself is said to have asserted two substantial self-existent principles, a monad or unity, and a dyad or quality; by the former of which God, or an active principle or mind, is generally allowed to be meant (though some imagine the Pythagoric monads were atoms); but what the latter signifies is uncertain, it being sometimes interpreted to be a demon, or evil principle, informing matter, or the visible world [p], and at other times to be a passive principle, or matter itself [q]; the number two being used as a type, to shew the variety, inequality, divisibility, and continual change of matter, as *one* was to express the unity, identity, indivisibility, and unchangeableness of the divine nature [r]. Yet it may be questioned whether Pythagoras by his dyad meant matter or no; for Porphyry thus interprets the two Pythagoric principles: the cause, says he, of that sympathy, harmony, and agreement, which is in things, and of the conservation of the whole, which is always the same, and like itself, was by Pythagoras called unity, that unity which is in the things themselves being but a participation of the first cause; but the reason of difference, inequality, and constant irregularity in things, was by him called a dyad [s]. Thus, according to Porphyry, by the Pythagoric dyad, is not so much meant matter, as the infinite and indeterminate nature, and passive capability of things. So that the monad and dyad of Pythagoras seem to have been the same with Plato's finite and infinite [t]; the former of which two only is substantial, that first most simple being, the cause of all unity, and the measure of all things [u].

[n] Diog. Laert. in Pherecyde, p. 76. [p] Plutarch. de Placitis Philos. lib. i. cap. 7. [q] Idem ibid. cap. 3. Vide Numen. apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. & Cudworth, Intell. System, p. 371, &c. [r] Vid. Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. 55. [s] Porphyr. in Vita Pythag. p. 203. [t] Or rather determinate and indeterminate, [illegible]. Plat. in Philebo. [u] Cudworth, ubi supra, p. 37[illegible].

However, if Pythagoras's dyad be to be underſtood of a ſubſtantial matter, there ſeems good reaſon to believe, that he did not ſuppoſe matter to be ſelf-exiſtent, and independent upon the Deity; ſince, according to the beſt and moſt ancient writers, his dyad was no primary, but a ſecondary being only, and derived from his monad, the ſole original of all things, as matter for the monad or active principle, which in the beginning was alone, to work upon [w]. For whatever Ocellus Lucanus, Philolaus [x], and ſome other Pythagoreans, imagined of the world's eternity, Pythagoras himſelf really believed it to have had a beginning, and to have been made by God [y]: which is confirmed by its being given as one reaſon of his ſuperſtitious abſtinence from beans; that at the beginning things being confounded, mingled, and putrefied together in the earth, the generation and ſecretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, animals being produced, and plants ſhooting forth; at which time, from the ſame putrefied matter, ſprang up both men and beans [z]. But his acknowleging the creation of the world by God is ſtill more expreſs, in thoſe verſes cited for his by Juſtin [a]. We ſhall content ourſelves to add here the teſtimony of St. Cyril, who aſſures us, that he held one God of the whole univerſe, the principle and cauſe of all things, illuminating and quickening the whole, and the original of motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of non-exiſtence into being [b].

But Pythagoras, it ſeems, did not only call the ſupreme Deity a monad, but alſo a tedrad, or tetractys, the explication of which has tortured the wits of ſeveral ages [c]. It is, in the Golden Verſes, ſaid to be the fountain of the eternal nature [d]; and, by Hierocles, the maker of all things, the intelligent god, the cauſe of the heavenly and ſenſible god, that is, of the animated world or heaven [e]. The later Pythagoreans endeavour to give reaſons why God ſhould be called tetractys, from certain myſteries in the number four [f]; but the late conjecture of ſome learned men [g] ſeems to be much more probable, that this name was

[w] Alexand. de Succeſſ. Philoſ. apud Diog. Laert. in Pythagora, p. 507. Hermias, in Irriſione Philoſoph. Gent. Theodorit. Therap. ii. Thearidas Pythagoreus, apud Clemenſ. Alex. Strom. v. p. 611. & in Admonit. ad Gentes, p. 47. Suidas, in Voce Pythagoras. [x] Vide Cudworth, ubi ſup. p. 393. [y] Plut. de Placitis Philoſ. lib. ii. cap. 4. [z] Porphyr. de Vita Pythag. [a] De Monarchia, p. 167. [b] Cyrill. cont. Julian. lib. i. [c] Vide Burnet. Archæol. lib. i. p. 154, 157. [d] Verſ. 47, 48. [e] Hierocles, in Aur. Carm. [f] See Cudworth, p. 376. [g] Picus Mirand. Selden & Gotef. Wendelin. See alſo Philo in Vita Moſis, p. 519.

really

really nothing else but the tetragrammaton, or that proper name of the supreme God amongst the Hebrews, consisting of four letters [h]; nor is it strange Pythagoras should be so well acquainted with the name Jehovah, since, besides his travelling into other parts of the East, he is affirmed by Josephus, Porphyry, and others, to have conversed with the Hebrews also. The worst of Pythagoras's theology was, that, representing God as the mover of the universe, and the soul of the world, he taught that our souls were portions of the divine substance [i].

That Pythagoras held numbers to be the principles of all things, is testified by all antiquity; and he thence accounted for the production of the world in this manner: he supposed that the monad and dyad, were the two sources of numbers, from whence proceeded points; from points, lines; from lines, plane-figures; from planes, solids; from solids, sensible bodies, the elements of which are four, fire, water, earth, and air; and these are in perpetual change; from them the world was formed, being animated, intelligent, and spherical, containing, in the midst the earth, a globose body, and inhabited [k]. He taught that the world began from fire, and the fifth element; and that there being five figures of solid bodies, called mathematical or regular, the earth was made of the cube; fire of the pyramid, or tetrahedron; the air of the octahedron; water of the icosahedron; and the sphere of the universe of the dodecahedron [l].

Reflections thereon.

This method of philosophizing, which was also adopted by Plato, if understood in the literal acceptation, has no manner of foundation in nature, nothing being more certain, than that numbers, if ever so variously combined, can generate nothing but numbers [m]. It is therefore more probable, that Pythagoras made use of them no otherwise than as emblems, or symbols. For, supposing mathematical sciences to possess a middle distance between corporeals and incorporeals, he began with them; thereby to wean the mind gradually from sensible things, and raise it to the contemplation of intelligible beings. And this is the reason why he had recourse chiefly to numbers; for, not being able sufficiently to explain by words the first principles, he

[h] Vid. Cudworth, ubi sup. & Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. 57. [i] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. Minut. Felix, p. 151. Lactant. lib. i. cap. 5. [k] Suidas, in Voce Pythagoras. Diog. Laert. in Pythag. p. 508. [l] Plutarch. de Placitis Philos. lib. ii. cap. 9. But the fifth figure, according to Clavius, and others, was added by some of Plato's followers. [m] Vid. Burnet, Archaeol. lib. i. p. 158.

represented them by numbers[n]: which seems to be all Pythagoras designed, though his followers have sought mysteries in his doctrine, which himself never dreamt of; yet it is not to be denied, that the great defect of that philosopher, and of Plato also, was, that they resolved natural things into mathematical reasons, numbers, and proportions; as Aristotle afterwards did into logical reasons.

The monad, dyad, and tetrad, we have already spoken of. As to the regular bodies, it is conjectured, that Pythagoras intended only to represent the elements under their forms, in imitation of other natural bodies. Thus he represented the fire by the figure of a pyramid or tetrahedron, from its aspiring to a point, or the acuteness of its flame; the air, being next in order to the fire, by an octahedron, which bears the nearest resemblance to tetrahedron, being composed of two pyramids joined by a square base; the water, because of its fluidity, was represented by an icosahedron; and the earth by a cube, to denote its stability; the cube being, of all the regular bodies, the least adapted to motion[o]. Or, if they were to be considered physically, perhaps Pythagoras supposed the constituent parts of the four elements to consist of such figures, according to their several specific gravities: that the molæ, or primary particles of the earth, were cubes: for as the earth is the most ponderous of all the elements, so is the cube the heaviest of all the regular bodies; that the particles of fire were tetrahedra, or triangular pyramids, fire being the lightest and most volatile element, as the tetrahedron is the lightest of the same bodies; that the particles of the air had the form of an octahedron, which is the next lightest body of the five, as air is the next lightest to fire; and that the particles of water had the shape of an icosahedron, which figure is a sort of mean proportion between the cube and the octahedron, as the weight of water is between the weight of air and that of earth. As to the fifth body, the dodecahedron, which represents the heaven, or sphere of the universe, it must be entirely emblematical (if it be not rather a later addition to the Pythagoric physiology, and no genuine part of it;) the four faces of that figure being fansied to allude to the twelve signs of the zodiac[p], or else the four elements, seven heavens, and the firmament[q].

The opinion of Timæus Locrus, and

Timæus Locrus, who was a Pythagorean, seems to have

[n] Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. 55. [o] Sacrobius, apud Casimir. Siemienowicz, lib. ix. p. 262. [p] Idem ibid. [illegible] [q] Vide Dacier, Vie de Pythagore, p. [illegible]. Vide etiam Timæum Locrum, de Anima Mundi, inter Opusc. Mythol. &c. edit. à T. Gale, [illegible] p. [illegible], &c.

held

held the pre-existence of matter, as if it were a self-existent principle together with God; for he affirms it to be eternal[r]: yet, in another place, he asserts the eternal God, who is visible to the understanding only, to be the author and parent of all things; and that the world, which is visible to our eyes, is the generated god[s]; and he distinguishes between the eternal duration of God, which had no beginning; and time, which was made together with the world, as an imitation of eternity[t]. He taught more particularly, that there were two principles of all things; mind, of those things which are made according to reason; and necessity, of those which are produced by force, according to the powers of bodies; by which second principle, he plainly means matter[u]. That before the making of the world, there were, besides God, idea or form, and rude matter; one being the intelligible pattern or exemplar of all things, and the other the subject, which, being itself without figure, yet capable of all figures, was reduced by God into the determinate form of the visible world; which, being the best production, is not corruptible by any other cause than the same God who composed it, if it shall at any time please him to dissolve it[w]. So that Timæus seems really to have held two subordinate principles, matter and form; wherein Archytas the Tarentine, who was also a Pythagorean, agreed with him, as supposing God to be the artificer and mover, matter that which is moved, and form the art introduced into the matter[x]: which was also the notion of Plato. We the rather take notice of the opinion of Archytas in this place, because he and Pythagoras are joined by Censorinus with Ocellus Lucanus, as believing mankind to have been from eternity[y].

of Archytas of Tarentum.

Plato, who, as well as his master Socrates, embraced the Pythagoric notions, as to the origin of the universe, held the three principles we have just mentioned, God, matter, and idea[z]; which are by Laertius reduced to two, God and matter[a]; the ideas, or original patterns, of things conceived in the divine mind, being really no distinct principle from him, but the very mind of God, with whom they are often

The opinion of Plato.

r Timæus, ibid. p. 544. s Idem ibid. p. 549. t Ibid. p. 552. See also Clem. Alexand. Strom. v. p. 604. u Vide Mer. Casaub. in Diog. Laert. in Vita Plat. p. 207. w Timæus, ibid. p. 543, &c. See Stanley's Hist. of Philos. part ix. p. 419, 420. x Strobæus, Eclog. Phys. y Censorinus de Die Natali, cap. 3. where, instead of Ocellus, the common editions have Cereius. z Plutarch. de Placitis Philos. lib. i. cap. 3. Chalcidius in Timæum. Apuleius, de Doctrina Platonis, lib. i. a Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 206, 212, &c.

con-

confounded, both by Timæus, and ſeveral of the Platonics [b]. It ſeems therefore certain, that Plato ſuppoſed matter to have been uncreated and eternal, as he often aſſerts it to be. But he has been defended in this reſpect by Hierocles [c], who, being himſelf convinced by the arguments on the other ſide, was willing to have it thought, for the honour of his ſect, that its founder believed God capable of producing the world by a ſimple act of volition, though there was no pre-exiſtent matter; and therefore maintained, that he really held an abſolute creation out of nothing. Wherein Hierocles is thought to have been very ſingular [d]; and yet ſome moderns have followed him in that particular, ſuppoſing, that when Plato aſſerted matter to be eternal, he did not mean, that it ſubſiſted viſibly from all eternity, but only that it ſubſiſted intellectually in the eternal idea of God [e]. And ſeveral paſſages have been cited from the works of that philoſopher [f], which would give ſome grounds to ſuſpect he really believed that God created or produced matter itſelf, as well as made and formed the world there-out, had he not ſo explicitly declared the contrary. Another opinion imputed to Plato by Plutarch, viz. the ſuppoſing two intelligent and independent principles, a good and an evil one, will be conſidered by-and-by.

As to the formation of the world, Plato taught, that matter being at firſt unformed, and without any determinate figure, and being moved in an irregular and diſorderly manner, God, who prefers order to confuſion, gathered it together; and, converting this ſubſtance into the four elements, of them made the world, and all things therein, faſhioning it according to the archetypal idea, or model thereof, which he had conceived in himſelf; and that he gave it a ſpherical figure, as the moſt perfect, and that which contains the reſt; and indued it with an intelligent ſoul, becauſe an animated being is more excellent than an inanimate, which ſoul of the world Plato ſuppoſed to be informed before its material body [g]. He alſo aſſerted the world to be incorruptible, not by its nature, but becauſe it is ſupported by divine providence [h]: and held not only the animated univerſe itſelf, but the ſeveral parts of nature, which he likewiſe ſuppoſed animated, to be gods, inferior indeed to the ſupreme God, but

[b] Vide Menag. in Laert. p. 163. and Mer. Caſaubon, in eundem, loco jam citato. [c] Hierocl. apud Photium, Biblioth. Cod. ccli. p. 1380. [d] Vide Bayle Dict. Hiſt. art Hierocles Philoſ. [e] Dacier, Vie de Platon, p. 123. &c. [f] Vide ibid. & Cudworth's Intell. Syſtem, p. 404. 570, &c. [g] Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 206, &c. Plato in Timæo. See alſo Stanley's Hiſt. of Philoſ. part v. p. 186. & Burnet. Archæol. lib. i. p. 176. [h] Plut. de Placitis Philoſ. lib. i. cap. 4.

ſuperior to men, and juſtly challenging honour and worſhip from them. Theſe gods of Plato were, for the moſt part, fiery, being the celeſtial bodies; though he ſuppoſed the earth alſo to be a god, affirming it to be the oldeſt of all the gods within the heaven [i]: and he for this reaſon, found fault with the Anaxagorean doctrine, which made the planets and ſtars nothing but inanimate ſtones and earth [k].

The opinion of thoſe who held the world to be abſolutely created, and liable to diſſolution.

Having now done with the ſecond of thoſe opinions, under which we comprehended the ſeveral notions which have been entertained concerning the origin of the univerſe, we come to ſpeak of the laſt, and only true one; that the world had a beginning, being abſolutely produced by God out of a ſtate of non-exiſtence; and conſequently, that it is of its own nature liable to diſſolution.

And, beſides ſuch of the nations and philoſophers already mentioned, who moſt probably believed this creation of the world, though ſuſpected of contrary opinions, there were ſeveral among the heathens who unqueſtionably did ſo.

The opinion of the ancient Tuſcans,

We ſhall firſt inſtance in the ancient Tuſcans, or Etrurians, whoſe tradition we have from one of their own writers. He ſays, that God, the author of the univerſe, employed twelve thouſand years in all his creations, and diſtributed them into twelve houſes: that in the firſt chiliad, or thouſand years, he made the heaven and earth; in the next, the firmament which appears to us, calling it heaven; in the third, the ſea and all the waters that are in the earth; in the fourth, the great lights, the ſun, and moon, and alſo the ſtars; in the fifth, every volatile, reptile, and four-footed animal, in the air, earth, and water; in the ſixth, man. It ſeems therefore, according to them, that the firſt ſix thouſand years were paſt before the formation of man, and that mankind are to continue for the other ſix thouſand years, the whole time of conſummation being twelve thouſand years [l]. For they held, that the world was ſubject to certain revolutions, wherein it became transformed, and a new age and generation began: of ſuch generations there were in all, according to them, eight, differing from one another in cuſtoms and way of life; each having a duration of a certain number of years aſſigned them by God, and determined by the period which they called the Great Year. The approach of ſuch a change in the world was judged, by the Tuſcan diviners to be portended by a prodigy which happened in the time of C. Marius, when the air being perfectly clear and ſerene, there was heard a ſhrill and mournful ſound of a trumpet, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of

i Diog. Laert. in Platon. p. 211. k Plato de Legib. lib. x. l Anonym. apud Suid. in voce Tyrrhein. m Plutarch. in Sylla, p. 456.

every

every body. And these are all the remains we now have of the old Etrurian physiology; which may be supposed to have been well worth our knowlege, that nation being particularly curious and diligent in their enquiries into nature [n]. Besides those we have already mentioned, who entertained this opinion of the mundane revolutions, the Druids also taught the alternate dissolution of the world by water and fire, and its successive renovation [o].

and of the Druids.

The opinion of the Persian magi.

The Mages, among the ancient Persians, did also acknowlege the world to have been created by God, as their successors most certainly do at this day [p]; but, being at a loss otherwise to account for the original of evil, they held two principles, a good dæmon, or God, and an evil one [q]; the first the author of all good, and the other of all evil; the former they supposed to be represented by light, and the latter by darkness, as their truest symbols; and that, of the composition of those two, all things in the world are made.

The opinion of the old Brachmans, and modern Bramins.

The old Indian philosophers, called by the Greeks Brachmanes, held that the world was generated, or made, and also perishable, being subject to successive dissolutions and renovations; that the principles of all things were different, but the formation of the world commenced from water [r]; and that the cause of God's making all things was his essential goodness [s]. And these are also the sentiments of the modern Bramins, their successors; but the particulars of their doctrine are related, by different authors, with a variety not easy to reconcile; the occasion of which has been partly the reservedness of the Bramins, who are extremely shy of conversing with strangers, or making the least discoveries, and partly the relators want of skill in their language.

We are told [t], that the bramins acknowlege one sole and supreme God, but are not perfectly agreed which of their gods he is; one sect affirming him to be Wistnou, another Eswara; and a third holding Wistnou and Eswara to be one and the same: that they all teach, however, that his first and most ancient production was a secondary god, named Bramma, whom the supreme God formed out of a flower, which floated on the great deep, before the creation of the world; and that God afterwards, on account of Bramma's virtue, gratitude, and fidelity, gave him power to create the universe.

n Diodor. Sic. lib. v. p. 316. o Strabo, lib. iv. p See Lord's Account of the Religion of the Persees, p. 5. q Diog. Laert. in Procem. p 6. r Megasthenes, apud Strabo, lib. xv. p 713. s Vide Philostr. in Vita Apollonii, p. 142. t Abr. Roger, of the Religion of the Bramins (said to be taken from one of the sacred books called Vedam), part I. cap. 3. and part II. cap. 1.

Though

Though the Chinese had for some time past been generally infected with the impious opinions which have been taken notice of, it is however certain, that, before idolatry prevailed in China, they acknowleged one God, or supreme, eternal, omnipotent spirit, the lord of heaven and earth, and the governor and director of all things, whom they worshipped under the name of Shang-ti; but this opinion now obtains with very few, and those of the better sort [t]. These hold, that a chaos was the beginning of things, from which God produced and formed whatsoever is material in the universe. *The opinion of some among the Chinese;*

There are also some, even among the Japonese, who acknowlege this truth of the creation of the world, and entertain a much more noble idea of their god Amida than the generality of them do: for they say, he is invisible, distinct from the nature of the elements, and existing before the creation of heaven and earth, without beginning or end; that by him all things were created, his essence passing through heaven and earth, and beyond them, being limited to no place, and governing and preserving all things; that he is immoveable, incorporeal, without any visible accident whereby he may be seen by the bodily eyes; and this god they hold in great reverence, as the perpetual fountain of all good [u]. *and Japonese.*

It may be expected we should say something of the hypothesis of Mr. Descartes, though he has endeavoured rather to form a fine system of his own, than to explain the Mosaical description, and reconcile it with philosophy. He agrees with Epicurus, in making matter and motion the principles of nature; supposing, however, the being of a God, who both created the matter, and impressed the first motion upon it; but then, after this motion once begun, and the wheels set a-going, he leaves this vast machine to the laws of mechanism, which assist all things, both celestial and terrestrial, without any farther assistance from the first impressor [w], after the following manner. *The Cartesian hypothesis.*

He supposes, 1. That the matter, of which the world is composed, being at first of one uniform nature, and infinitely divisible, was actually divided into many particles of a moderate size, which had all such a motion as is now found in the world. 2. That all these particles were not at first spherical, because many such little globes, joined together, will not fill up a continued space; but that, of whatever figure they were at first, by their continual mo-

t Martini Hist. Sinic. lib. i. p. 11. Kircher. Chin. Illustr. p. 141.
u Lud. Froes apud
w Baker's Reflections on Learning, cap. 7.

tion,

tion, and frequent occursions against each other, their angles would be cut off, and they become spherical. 3. He asserts, that there is no space left empty; and therefore, when these round particles, by being joined together, leave some intervals between them, he supposes that there are other lesser particles, arising from those angles that were cut off, which, by the force and celerity of their motion, will be divided into innumerable still less fragments, proper to fill up all the interstices. 4. He supposes, that some of these fragments, taken from the angles of the spherical particles, will necessarily have very angular figures; and, upon that account, being not so fit for motion, will be apt to stick together, and transfer a great part of their motion to such particles as are less, and consequently move swifter. These things being supposed, he proceeds to the formation of the world from his three elements, which consist of the three sorts of particles above mentioned. The first element, which is the subtle matter cut off from the angles of the greater particles, is that of the sun and fixed stars, and susceptible of a much quicker motion than the other two: the second element consists of the spherical particles themselves, of which the heavens were made: the third element consists of those angular particles which are less adapted to motion; and thence proceeded the earth, planets, comets, and other appearances of nature [x].

He supposes, that the solar system is a vortex continually whirling round, whose matter (excepting the earth and planets) is very liquid and transparent, consisting altogether of the first and second elements, and containing a greater quantity of the first, than is sufficient to fill up the spaces between the particles of the second. And since all bodies which move circularly, endeavour to recede from the centre of their motion, and the more thick and solid parts, such as the particles of the second element, are obliged to fly off with a greater force than the rest; the particles of the second element must necessarily recede from the common centre, and approach one another, as much as their figure and motion will permit. After their interstices therefore are filled up, the remaining matter of the first element takes the place left by the second; by which means a mass, or heap of the matter of the first element, settles, and is formed in the midst of the vortex, which mass we call the sun [y]. Every one of the fixed stars he supposes likewise to be a sun, and the centre of a vortex [z]; and that the earth was

x Vide Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacræ. Ray on the Creation. Cartesii Princip. Philos. part iii. sect. 52. Rohault. Phys. part i. cap. 21.
y Rohault. ibid. part ii. cap. 25.

originally

originally such a star, whose vortex was adjoining to that of the sun; but by degrees it was covered over, or incrusted with spots, arising on its surface like the scum on a boiling pot, which still increasing and growing thicker and thicker, the star losing its light and activity, and consequently the motion of the celestial vortex about it growing more weak, languid, and unable to resist the vigorous encroachments of the neighbouring vortex of the sun, it was at last drawn in, and wholly absorbed by it, and forced to comply with its motion, and make one in the choir of the sun's satellites [z].

Objections thereto. But this hypothesis is liable to several objections, and some which absolutely ruin it. The three elements of Descartes, and particularly the subtile matter of the first, have been shewn to be imaginary, and his vortices fictitious, and repugnant to the nature of things; his supposition of a plenum is also evidently false, not to mention the absurdities which follow his making of matter or space, or extension, to be the same [a]. However, we cannot but think the essay of that philosopher, who endeavoured to account for the formation of the world in a certain time from a rude matter, by the sole continuation of a motion once impressed, and reduced to a few simple and general laws; or of others, who have since attempted the same, with more applause, from the original properties of matter, with which it was indued at its creation, is so far from being criminal, or injurious to God, as some have imagined, that it is rather giving a more sublime idea of his infinite wisdom.

We cannot therefore excuse ourselves from representing the theories of two very learned men of our age and nation; one of whom has excelled in the richness of his style and fancy, and the other in the strength of parts and contrivance.

The theory of Dr. Burnet. The former of them, Dr. Burnet omitting to speak of the original of the universe, or even of the solar system, as made long before the Mosaic creation [b], confines himself to the formation of the earth only, which he supposes to be done from a chaos, or confused mass, consisting of the principles of all terrestrial bodies, in this manner. He supposes, that the first change that would happen, would be, that the heaviest and grossest parts would sink downwards towards the middle of the mass (for there he supposes the centre of its gravity), and, being more and more

z Ray's Physico-Theol. Discourses, disc. iii. cap. 5. sect. 3. Vide Descartes Princip. Philos. part iv. sect. 2. a Vide Newton. Princip. lib. ii. prop. 38, 40, 53, &c. Ejusd. Optic. p. 311, 342, &c. & Notas S. Clarke ad Rohaulti Phys. par. i. cap. 8, & 12. & par. ii. cap. 25, &c. b Vide Burnet. Archæol. lib. ii. cap. 8.

compressed, would harden by degrees, and constitute the interior parts of the earth: that the rest of the mass, which swam above, would also be divided, by the same principle of gravity, into two orders of bodies, the one liquid like water, the other volatile like air: for the more fine and active parts, disentangling themselves by degrees from the rest, would mount above them; and, having motion enough to keep them upon the wing, would play in those open places, where they constitute that body we call air: that the other parts, being grosser than these, and having a more languid motion, could not fly up separate from one another, but settled in a mass together under the air, upon the body of the earth, composing not only water, strictly so called, but the whole mass of liquid bodies belonging to the earth: that, there being two chief kinds of terrestrial liquors, those that are oily and light, and those that are lean and more earthy, like common water, which naturally separate from one another, when they come to settle; the more oily and light part of this mass would consequently get above the other, and swim upon it. He proceeds to suppose, that the air was, as yet, thick, gross, and dark, there being abundance of terrestrial particles swimming in it, after the grossest were sunk down; which, by their weight, made their way more speedily: that the lesser and lighter, which remained, would sink too, but more slowly, and in a longer time; so as in their descent they would meet with that oily liquor upon the face of the deep, or upon the watery mass, which would entangle, and stop them from passing any farther; whereupon, mixing there with that unctuous substance, they composed a certain slime, or fat, soft, and light earth, spread upon the face of the waters: that this thin and tender orb of earth increased still more and more, as the little earthy parts that were detained in the air could make their way to it, some having a long journey from the upper regions; and others, being very light, would float up and down a long while before they could disengage themselves, and descend; but at length, being all got thither, and mingling more and more with that oily liquor, they sucked it all up, and were wholly incorporate together, and so began to grow more stiff and firm, making both but one substance, which was the first concretion, or firm and consistent substance, that rose upon the face of the chaos, and become at last an habitable earth, such as nature designed it. And such a body as this, he doubts not, would answer all the purposes of a rising world; for what can be a more proper seminary for plants and animals, than a soil of this temper and composition? a finer and lighter sort

of

of earth, mixed with a benign juice, easy and obedient to the action of the sun, or what other causes were employed by the Author of nature for the production of things in the new-made earth; and perfectly answering the ancient descriptions of the primigenial soil or slime.

The form of this first earth, both external and internal, is easily conceived from the manner of its formation. As to the external form, it would be smooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains, and without a sea. The internal form would consist of several regions involving one another, like orbs about the same centre, or the several elements cast circularly about each other; the water being entirely contained under the upper crust of the earth, which formed a wonderful vault, hanging above the deep, sustained by nothing but its own measures, and manner of construction [c].

To confirm so new and surprising a representation of the form of the first earth, and to prove it must have been different from the present, he endeavours to shew, that if the earth had been always in the form it now bears, it would not have been capable of a deluge, which could not have been effected without such an infinite mass of water, as could neither be brought upon the earth, nor afterwards any way removed from it [d]: and that the chaos, as a fluid body, would naturally and necessarily settle and cast itself into a smooth surface, every where equidistant from its centre, and not into a surface broken into so many irregularities as our earth is; nor could it possibly imitate the cavities, dens, and broken holes within it [e]. And these reasons he backs by authority of Scripture, which plainly intimates a difference between the form or constitution of the old world, and of the present; by reason of which difference, that was subject to perish by a deluge, as this is subject to perish by a conflagration [f]; besides several passages which seem to describe the structure of the antediluvian earth, as founded and established on the waters [g], and set as an orb over the face of the deep [h]; conformably to which, on the renovation, or restitution of nature to its primeval state, the new earth will appear without a sea [i]. To which he adds the testimony of ancient tradition, that the world was oviform, which was true of that original earth, not only in respect of its outward figure, but also to the inward

c Burnet's Theory of the Earth, lib. i. cap. 5. & Archæol. lib. ii. cap. 3. d Idem, Theory, lib. i. cap. 2. e Ibid. cap 4. f 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7. g Psal. xxiv. 2, & cxxxvi. 6. h Prov. viii. 27. i Rev. xxi. 1.

composition of it; the central parts being represented by the yolk of the egg, the exterior region of the earth by the shell, and the abyss of water by the white that lies under the shell[k]. The manner wherein he supposes this earth was supplied with water, will be taken notice of when we come to consider more particularly the state of the antediluvian earth.

Several objections having been made to the philosophy of this gentleman's hypothesis, as that his laws of gravitation ruin the whole contrivance; because, if every thing subsided according to its specific gravity, the earth, being heavier than the water, must necessarily place itself nearer the center, and so leave the waters to cover the face of the whole orb: that his fat or oily liquid, to catch the terrene particles, as they descended, is but a weak expedient, because it is impossible, that oil, or any other liquor, should sustain such an immense heavy orb: that he has, without any reason, deprived the old world of the benefit and advantage of a sea, mountains, and minerals[l]: but the great misfortune is, that so coherent and surprising a scheme does not in several particulars accord with the letter of the Scripture, with which he has in many places taken great liberty, supposing that the sacred books were not always to be so literally and naturally understood, as was generally believed hitherto. For, considering the mean capacities of the Jews, which were not capable of such points of philosophic truths; considering the most ancient ways of conveying (or rather concealing) sublime theorems by parables, fables, and hieroglyphics; considering the Scripture-style in some other cases, very different from the present plain way of discourse; considering the main end of those writings, the benefit of the moral world seemed not to require a strict adherence to truth in every circumstance relating to the natural; and considering, lastly, that all ages had endeavoured in vain to clear these points according to the strictness of the most obvious sense, and that the greater improvements in philosophy seemed only to render them still more unaccountable; all these considerations induced him to suppose, that the holy writers only secured the fundamental and general verities; involving the rest under, and explaining the whole by, a way of speaking, which was mystical and mythological, rather popular than true, and fitted more to the needs of men than the reality of things[m].

k Burnet. Theor. lib. i. cap. 5. & Tellur. Theor. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. 10. l Vide Keil's Examinat. of Dr. Burnet's Theory.
m Vide Burnet. Archæol. lib. ii. cap. 8.

The other theorist, Mr. Whiston, not only shews a greater regard to Scripture, and has avoided many difficulties that were chargeable on the former, but proceeds on more philosophical principles: he first lays down this proposition, that the Mosaic creation is not a nice and philosophical account of the origin of all things, but an historical and true representation of the formation of our single earth, out of a confused chaos, and of the successive and visible changes thereof each day, till it became the habitation of mankind[n]: which he proves from the first words of Moses, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," which plainly imply, that the creation of the universe out of nothing, which we usually style creation, was precedaneous to the six days work; the historian immediately descending thence to the chaos of our earth, to which he afterwards confines himself; mentioning, indeed, the making of the sun, and other celestial bodies, to accommodate his narrative to vulgar apprehension, and make it complete; but chiefly to secure the Jews from the worship of the host of heaven[o]. He therefore supposes, that the sun, moon, and stars, were created before, and only made visible and conspicuous to the earth on the fourth day[p]: that the ancient chaos, the origin of the earth, was the atmosphere of a comet[q]; which is no other than a planet unformed, or in its primeval state, placed in a very eccentrical orbit: to support which proposition, he endeavours to shew, that the atmosphere of a comet has those several properties which are recorded of the ancient chaos; that it has such peculiar properties besides, as lay a rational foundation for some of those phænomena of our earth, which can scarce otherwise be philosophically explained; and that no other body, or mass of bodies, now known, or ever heard of in the world, can stand in competition, or pretend to the same character.' He proceeds to suppose, that the six days of the creation were equal to six years; a day and a year being one and the same thing[r] before the fall of man, when the diurnal rotation of the earth about its axis, as he thinks, first began[s]: which supposition agrees with the letter of Moses, and the style of Scripture elsewhere,

Mr. Whiston's theory.

[n] Whiston's New Theory of the Earth. Disc. of the Mosaic Creation, p. 3. [o] Ibid. p. 4, &c. [p] Ibid. p. 24, &c. [q] Whiston's Theory, book ii. p. 73. [r] Empledocles taught, that, when mankind sprang originally from the earth, the length of the day, by reason of the slowness of the sun's motion, was equal to ten of our present months. Plut. de Placitis Philos. lib. v. cap. 18. A surprising testimony to this purpose! [s] Whiston's Theory, book ii. p. 85, &c.

wherein a day often denotes a year; and allows a convenient ſpace for the works of creation, which appear to have been leiſurely, regular, and gradual, without any precipitancy, or acceleration by a miraculous hand on every occaſion; not to mention other arguments drawn from the peculiar characters of the ſtate of nature before the fall, which will be obſerved hereafter.

On theſe foundations, Mr. Whiſton proceeds to account for the formation of the earth in this manner: That ſuch formation was not a mere reſult from any neceſſary laws of mechaniſm independently on the divine power; but the proper effect of the interpoſition, and all along under the peculiar care of God, who not only created the matter of which the univerſe, and particularly the earth, was to conſiſt, out of a non-exiſtent ſtate, and induced it with its ſeveral properties and powers, but interpoſed more particularly in the formation of the earth, by changing the courſe and orbit of the chaos into that of a planet; by immediately forming the ſeeds of all animals and vegetables; by ordering every diſtinct day's work to be completed in its proper period, that every thing ſhould follow in its own order and place; and principally in the creation of our firſt parents [t]. That, at the time immediately preceding the ſix days creation, the face of the abyſs, or ſuperior regions of the chaos, were involved in a thick darkneſs; agreeably to the nature of a comet, which is repreſented as containing a central, ſolid, hot body, of many hundred or thouſand miles in diameter; and, beſides that, a vaſtly large, fluid, heterogeneous maſs, or congeries of bodies, in a very rare, ſeparate, and expanded condition, whoſe diameter were ten or eleven times as long as that of the central ſolid, which is the atmoſphere, or chaos itſelf. But, on the change of the comet's orbit, from a very eccentrical to a moderately elliptical one, the commencing of the Moſaic creation, and the influence of the Divine Spirit, all things would begin to take their own places, and each ſpecies of bodies rank themſelves according to the law of ſpecific gravity. By which method the maſs of denſe fluids, which compoſed one part of the entire chaos, being heavier than the maſſes of earth, and water, and air, would ſink downwards with the greateſt velocity, and elevate thoſe maſſes incloſed among them upwards, which muſt diſtinguiſh the chaos into two very different and diſtinct regions; the lower and larger whereof would be a collection of denſe and heavy fluids, or a vaſt abyſs, immediately encompaſſing the cen-

t Whiſton's Theory, book iv. p. 292, &c.

tral

tral solid; the higher and lesser would be a collection of earthy, watery, and airy parts, confusedly mixed, and incompassing the said abyss. And this he takes to be the state of darkness; for the crouding together all those opake corpuscles, which before roved about the immense regions of the atmosphere, must, by consequence, exclude the rays of the sun much more than before [u].

Things being in this state, the visible part of the first day's work was the production of light, or its successive appearance to all the parts of the earth; with the consequent distinction of darkness and light, night and day, upon the face of it. And this was effected by the separation of the upper and elementary chaos of earthy, watery, and airy corpuscles, into two somewhat different regions; the one a solid orb of earth, with considerable quantities of water in its pores; the other an atmosphere in a peculiar sense, or mass of the lightest earthy, with the rest of the watery and airy particles, still somewhat confusedly mixed together. So that, on this first day or year of the creation, the earthy or denser parts would take their places lowest on the surface of the great abyss, would settle in part into the same, and compose an orb of earth; and in its interstices, and little cavities, all such watery particles as were already in this region, or descended upon it before its consolidation, would be inclosed; and that as far above the surface of the abyss as their quantity would enable them to reach. On this first day also, the upper regions of the chaos, now in some measure freed from those earthy and opake masses, which before excluded the same, and caused the above mentioned thick darkness, would, in some degree, admit the rays of the sun. Now therefore that glorious emanation, light, would begin to appear on the face of the earth; and, by the annual motion, successively illuminate the several parts of it, and consequently occasion the vicissitude of night and day [w].

The visible part of the second day's work was the elevation of the air, with all its contained vapours; the spreading it for an expansum above the earth; the distinction thence arising of superior and inferior waters; the former consisting of those vapours raised and sustained by the air; the latter of such as either were inclosed in the pores, interstices, and bowels of the earth, or lay upon the surface thereof. The heat of the sun, at the conclusion of the former day, beginning considerably to penetrate the superior regions of the chaos, and the lower earthy strata con-

[u] Whiston's Theory, p. 307, &c. [w] Ibid. p. 311.

tinuing to settle somewhat closer together, the watery parts would subside, and were they could get entrance, saturate their inward pores and vacuities, aud the atmosphere would free itself more and more from the heaviest and most opake corpuscles, and thereby become much more 'tenuious and clear than before. Whereupon, by the time the night, or first part of this second day, was over, and the sun arose, the light and heat of that luminary would more freely and deeply penetrate the atmosphere, and become very sensible in these upper or airy regions; and consequently vast quantities of vapours would be elevated and sustained there, and so increase the quantities which were there already; while, in the mean time, all the earthy corpuscles uncapable of rarefaction, and with them all such watery particles as were so near the earth, that the sun's power could not sufficiently reach them, were still sinking downwards, and the former increasing the crassitude and bulk of the solid earth, and the latter, if the earth was too solid to admit them, as by this time it would probably be, flowing down apace, and covering all its surface with water. So that the expansum, or firmament, which was this day spread out above the earth, was plainly the air; the superior waters, all those fresh ones, which, in the form of vapour, a nine or ten months heat of the sun, with the assistance of the central heat, could elevate, and the air sustain, besides those vast quantities of salt ones, which had never yet left those regions: the inferior waters were those which were not elevated, but remained below in the bowels, or on the surface, of the earth [x].

The visible part of the third day's work were two; the former, the collection of the inferior waters, or such as were now under the heaven, into the seas, with the consequent appearance of the dry land; the latter, the production of vegetables out of that ground so lately become dry. In order to apprehend which, it must be considered, that the orb of the earth had been settling and fixing itself on the surface of the abyss from the very beginning of the creation; and was, by the cohesion of its parts, grown solid some time before all the lighter and remoter earthy parts were descended upon it, suppose by the end of the first day: by which means, and by reason of the different density and specific gravity of its columns, it was settled into the abyss into different degrees, and thereby became of an unequal surface, distinguished into mountains, plains, and valleys; which things being supposed, at the conclusion of

[x] Whiston's Theory, p. 317, &c.

the

the preceding day, the air being crouded with vapours to a prodigious degree, in the night, or former part of this third day, the ſaid vapours muſt needs deſcend on the earth in vaſt quantities, leaving the air by degrees pretty free, and becoming, of celeſtial, terreſtrial waters: theſe waters, being deſcended, by reaſon of the inequality of the earth's ſurface, and its ſolidity, muſt in ſome time have run down from the higher parts, by the declivities and hollows, into the loweſt valleys, and moſt depreſſed regions of all, and there compoſed the ſeas and lakes; ſo that, in the morning, the entire face of the globe, which was before covered with the deſcending waters, muſt be diſtinguiſhed into overflowed valleys, and extant continents. The dry land being now diſtinguiſhed from the ſeas, and juſt become moiſt and juicy, like the primitive ſlime; on the ſun riſing, it was of all other the moſt fit ſeaſon for the germination of the ſeeds of vegetables, and the growth of trees, herbs, and plants; for which purpoſe, nine or ten months continual preſence of the ſun was a time very proper and natural [y].

The fourth day's work was the placing the heavenly bodies, ſun, moon, and ſtars, in the expanſum or firmament; that is, the rendering them viſible and conſpicuous on the face of the earth; together with their ſeveral aſſignations to their reſpective offices there. For though the light of the ſun penetrated the atmoſphere in ſome ſort the firſt day, and in the ſucceeding ones had very conſiderable influence upon it, yet it is by no means to be ſuppoſed, that his body was viſible all that while; the air, even at this day, being not at all times ſo clear, as to render it diſcernible by us, though we are at the ſame time ſufficiently ſenſible of his force and influence in the conſtant productions of nature. But on the coming on of this fourth day, and the ſun's abode below the horizon for two or three months, thoſe vapours which were raiſed the day before, muſt fall downwards, and ſo, before the approach of the morning, leave the air in the greateſt clearneſs and purity imaginable, and permit the moon firſt, and then the ſun, moſt plainly to appear, and be conſpicuous to the earth. This fourth day therefore is the time when both theſe heavenly bodies, though in being before, yet ſo as to be wholly ſtrangers to a ſpectator on earth, were rendered viſible: the whole inanimate world, with its vegetable productions, being now complete, according to the tradition

y Whiſton's Theory, p. 320, &c.

of

of the Chinese [z] inhabiting Formosa and other islands, who hold that the world, when first created, was without form or shape; but, by one of their deities, was brought to its full perfection in four years [a].

The production of the fish and fowl out of the waters, with the benediction bestowed on them, in order to their propagation, was the work of the fifth day, which was a very proper time for their introduction. The terraqueous globe being now become habitable, both to the swimming and volatile animals; and the air clear, and so penetrable by that complete heat of the sun, which was requisite to the generation of such creatures; those seeds, or little bodies of fish and fowl, which were contained in the water, (or moist fruitful slime, of kin to it), were now exposed to the kindly warmth of the sun, and the constant supply of a most gentle and equal heat from beneath; being neither disturbed by any sudden alteration of the air from winds, nor by the agitations of tides, which in those small seas, and in the absence of the diurnal rotation, were imperceptible and gradual: which seeds, being invigorated with the divine benediction, became now prolific; and a numerous offspring of the swimming and volatile kind arose, whereby the two fluid elements, air and water, became replenished with those first pairs, which were enabled to propagate their species [b].

The sixth day's work was the production of all the terrestrial, or dry-land animals. The brute beasts were produced out of the earth; after which the body of Adam was formed of the dust of the ground; and by the breath of life, breathed into him in a peculiar manner, he became a living soul: and some time after, on the same day, he was cast into a deep sleep, and Eve was formed of a rib taken from his side. The earth being now grown more solid and dry, and the air fully clear and fit for respiration, and the other disposition of external nature being subservient, it was a proper season for the generation of the land-animals, and the introduction of the noblest of them, man [c].

Objections to Mr. Whiston's theory.

This is the substance of the latter theory, wherein, among many ingenious and probable solutions, there are some suppositions, which have been thought too bold and precarious.

It has been objected, that he is probably mistaken as to the extent of the Mosaic creation; it being pretty certain,

[z] Atlas Chinens. part. ii. p. 46. [a] Whiston's Theor. ubi sup. p. 325. [b] Ibid. p. 328. [c] Ibid. p. 329, &c.

that

that the moon was formed at that time, or at least placed in its orbit, and made to turn round the earth; for no comets have any secondary planets: so that something more must be intended by Moses, than the bare rendering the moon visible; and the word *made* being equally applied, both to sun and moon, it is supposed it ought in both places to be taken in the same, that is, a literal sense.

The atmosphere of a comet could not, it has been thought, have been the primitive chaos, being not an obscure, but a bright pellucid fluid, which is a consequence of the intense heat of the central solid; and because the greatest part of the bodies which compose the upper stratum of the earth, would have been vitrified on the comet's near approach to the sun, and so very improper for the formation of the earth.

That the diurnal rotation of the earth did not commence till after the fall, so that till that time days and years were exactly the same, has been held a paradox; considering the prodigious cold that must be occasioned by the total absence of the sun for one half of the year, and the intense heat that must ensue on its continual shining upon it for the other; which immoderate degrees of heat and cold must be pernicious to the antediluvian plants and animals, unless their bodies were of a very different constitution from what they are now. Nor can there be any necessity to lengthen a day into a year, for the sake of a gradual and regular formation of things, without precipitance or acceleration, where an Almighty Agent is acknowleged to be concerned [d].

It may not therefore be amiss, laying all hypotheses aside, briefly to propose such an explication of the cosmogony, as may be most agreeable both to reason, and the letter of Scripture. *The Mosaic creation explained.*

And, first, it is conceived, that the Mosaic creation is neither to be extended to the whole universe, nor yet confined to the terrestrial globe alone; the middle opinion, that it included the solar system, and that only, seeming the most probable, from the near similitude and relation the several planets in that system bear to one another, and their having the same common centre and luminary; so that though the historian chiefly regards the earth in his whole narration, yet there is reason to presume, that the other planets were formed in the same manner, and in the same time, as the earth, of so many particular chaotic masses.

[d] Vide Keill's Remarks on Mr. Whiston's Theory.

Moses,

Moses, after the general assertion, that both heaven and earth were originally made [e] by God, and before he begins his account of their reduction into the present system, informs us, that the earth in particular was at first in an unformed and desert state, when, as a thing preparatory to the work, the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, by which spirit some understand the third person in the blessed Trinity [f]; others, that plastic nature [g] which was subservient to him on this occasion, or some other emanation of the divine power, which it is reasonable to suppose moved the chaotic mass, whose surface was covered with water, or other fluid matter; and impregnated it with several kinds of vital influence, preparing every part to receive the intended disposition, order, and life.

Things being in this state, the confused stagnating parts of matter began to range themselves in order, and the grosser parts subsiding, the lighter and more tenuious mounted up; by which means the atmosphere being in some degree cleared, the luminous rays of the sun began to pierce it, and caused an imperfect glimmering light, yet sufficient partly to dispel the before total darkness, and to distinguish day from night. And this account of the light, which appeared on the first day, is much more reasonable, than to suppose the substance of the sun, much less the fixed stars, were then extracted from the chaos [h]; because more than ninety-nine parts in a hundred of the matter of the universe are fiery corpuscles; and if they were included at first in the chaos it could not possibly have been dark or caliginous. Nor is it possible that even the terrene matter of the planets was taken from the Mosaic chaos, not only because it is expresly called the earth, but because such an imagination is directly overthrown by the now undoubted property of the universal gravitation of matter, not to mention the false supposition which must, in that case, be made, of the earth's being the center of the world [i]. To account for this day's light, before the sun is said to be made, there is no occasion to recur to the supposition of its being either

[e] The original word ברא is allowed not necessarily to signify a creation, or production out of nothing: yet, as the Hebrew tongue has no other word to express such a creation, it is most likely Moses uses it here in that sense. [f] Grotius, &c. [g] Dr. Cudworth's Intel. Syst. p. 148. Yet others, by this spirit of God, understand no more than a violent wind, which they suppose was sent to dry up the waters. Chal. Paraphrase, Drusius, &c. [h] Which is the opinion of Dr. Nichols and others. See his Conference with a Theist, vol. i. part i. [i] Vide Whiston on the Mosaic Creation, p. 35, &c.

the

the divine Shechinah[k], or no more than a temporary light occasioned by the rapid motion communicated by God to a portion of matter[l].

The second day the expanse, or air, called by Moses heaven, was perfected, being now freed from the gross terrene particles which before crouded it, and made capable of supporting clouds and aqueous vapours, which were the superior waters, as those on the earth were the inferior[m]. By the waters above the firmament cannot be understood the planetary waters[n], for the reasons given above; and the notion the old Christian fathers had of supercelestial waters is perfectly groundless.

The former part of the third day's work was, to gather the waters, which before covered the face of the earth, into seas and lakes, that the dry land might appear. How this was effected is not easy to determine. That God himself should raise the mountains, and hollow the channels of the sea for this purpose, appears not a little indecent; for which reason some have supposed the mountains might have been thrown up by the force of a subterraneous fire or flatus, in the same manner as earthquakes are now caused[o]; but the more philosophical opinion is, that they were occasioned by the different densities of the several columns of the earth, when its surface was first formed, some sinking lower into the abyss than others; for it is more than probable, that the mountainous columns are much hollower and lighter than the other, notwithstanding the vulgar opinion to the contrary[p]. The latter part of this day's work was the production of vegetables, which were designed as food for the future animals: but how great soever we suppose the fecundity of the primigenial earth to be, it is scarce to be imagined that trees and plants could arrive at full growth, and bear their several fruits and seeds, in so short a space as a day, without the assistance of a supernatural power; and as God is on all hands allowed to have formed the seeds of those vegetables, it may not perhaps be wrong to attribute their sudden maturation also to his interposition; though it be well known how much vegetation may be helped and forwarded by art even at this day, of which there have been some surprising instances, and much more might have been expected from nature in that vigorous state.

On the fourth day the two great lights, the sun and the moon, are said to have been made, and placed in the hea-

k The notion of Abravanel. l Vide Saurin, Differt. p. 2.
m Grotius, &c. n This is Dr. Nichol's interpretation, ubi supra.
o Ray on the Creation, and bishop Patrick in his Commentaries.
p See Whiston's Theory, book ii. p. 82.

ven.

ven. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, they were then firſt created, or aſſigned to their reſpective orbs; for the ſun was not only in being from the beginning of the Moſaic creation, but had all along great influence on the earth, its light and heat gradually increaſing, and influencing the earth and its productions with greater power, as the air became from time to time more and more pure and defecated; and the moon, as well as the other planets, kept pace with the earth in its formation; but only that the bodies of thoſe luminaries (which had been hid from the earth till the fourth day, when the air was perfectly freed from the heterogeneous particles, and the vapours which before obſcured it) did then firſt appear to the earth, and viſibly begin to perform their ſeveral offices. The ſtars alſo are, for the ſame reaſon, ſaid to be made on that day; though the planets, as we have ſaid, were forming before, and the fixed ſtars were no part of this creation [p].

After the formation of the inanimate world, Moſes proceeds to the formation of animals; and he begins with fiſhes and fowls, which were both produced on the fifth day out of the waters, in great numbers [q]. And as the original of fiſh and volatiles was from the ſame element, ſo there is ſuppoſed to be ſome congruity in their nature, being both oviparous, and their motions of ſwimming and flying ſomething alike.

In the former part of the ſixth and laſt day, the terreſtrial animals were produced out of the earth.

On the formation of plants and animals.

The manner of the original formation of plants and animals, in which the wiſdom of the Creator principally appears, has never been accounted for by any philoſopher with any tolerable ſucceſs; matter, and the laws of motion having nothing at all to do in theſe things, whatever they have in the inanimate part of the world. How ridiculous

[p] Dr. Nichols (ubi ſupra) ſupports the opinion of the creation of other worlds or ſyſtems, before our's, by a criticiſm on the Hebrew word ואת (in Geneſ. i. 16.) which ſignifies *together with*, and thence concludes, that by Moſes's text the moon was to rule the night, *and* or *together with*, the ſtars, which ſhine then only, the words *he made* being interpolated in our tranſlation. By the ſtars coming in ſo abruptly in this place, ſome have been ready to think thoſe words were added ſince Moſes's time, or crept into the text from a marginal annotation, made to obviate an objection from idolaters, that the ſtars were not made. [q] "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl," &c. Geneſ. i. 20. But afterwards it is ſaid, that God "formed the fowls of the air out of the ground," Geneſ. ii. 19. The Jews reconcile this, by ſuppoſing that they were formed out of both elements mixed, viz. out of ſoft ouze; but Calmet, in his Commentary, ſays, the firſt paſſage may be rendered, "and let the fowl fly, &c.

and groundless those hypotheses are, which make them to be produced from the earth, supposed ever so fruitful, by the influence and heat of the sun, appears from the late discovery made in philosophy, that there is no such thing as equivocal generation of any the meanest animal or plant; the sun, and earth, and water, and all the powers of nature in conjunction, being able to do nothing at all towards the producing of any thing endued with so much as even a vegetative life[r]. It must be, therefore, necessarily allowed, that God himself, or some agent impowered by him, actually formed both plants and animals, making use of the earth and water as the matter only whereof he constituted their parts; but whether these first vegetative and sensitive creatures were created in their seeds only (which contain the plants and animals themselves in little), and dispersed over the superficial part of the land and water, which had power given them to hatch and bring them forth, or whether they were created in their full state of perfection, seems not easy to decide. It has been thought by some modern philosophers, that God at first created only two of each species of animals, from which all the rest proceeded by generation: to support which opinion they observe, that there was but one man and one woman created, and at the deluge but two of each kind (of unclean beasts) were preserved in the ark; but it seems more consonant to Scripture, that a great number of every kind were formed at first: we are assured the aquatic creatures and fowls were brought forth abundantly; and plants, having no locomotive power, must necessarily have been created dispersedly all the world over. There has been also a farther question moved concerning the creation of animals, viz. whether all animals that already have been, or hereafter shall be, were at first actually created by God; or whether he hath given to each kind of animal such a power of generation as to prepare matter, and produce new individuals in their own bodies. And it seems to be the most reasonable opinion, that God did himself at first, actually create all the individual animals that ever were, or ever shall be; and that there is no such thing as any production of new ones: for what were that but a creation of such individuals? and what did God at the first creation more than, if this be true, we see every day done, that is, produce a new animal out of matter which itself prepares? all the difference is, that God does that in an instant which the creature must take time to do.

[r] Dr. Clarke's Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God, p. 64.

Besides,

Besides, the parent animal cannot be the agent or efficient in the generation, or forming and nourishing of the fœtus, because that is a work of art and reason, which brute creatures are not endued withal; nor indeed does man himself understand any thing of the process of generation in himself. Again, it is most probable, if not certain, that most animals have in them, from the beginning, the seeds or eggs of all the young they shall afterwards bring forth, which, when spent and exhausted, the creature becomes barren; the females of all viviparous quadrupeds being brought forth with their testes or ovaria; and all birds formed with their ovary or egg-cluster, containing the seeds of all the eggs they shall ever lay. Now had the creature a power of producing new ones, what need was there that there should be so many at first formed in them? Whereupon these philosophers argue thus: let us suppose God did at first create two animals, a male and a female; the female must be created with its ovaries, which (as we have said) contain so many seeds, or eggs, as the creature should ever bring forth young. So it is clear, that not only the first pair, but the first generation of animals, were actually created. Again, this generation, from their first appearance, had each of them, (that is, the females) its ovaria, containing, in like manner, the seeds of its future offspring; so that this second generation was also created in the first. The same may be demonstrated of the third and fourth, and so on, of all the generations that shall be, as long as the world shall last[a].

Of the human soul: whether infused, or ex traduce.

Before we speak of the creation of man, it may not be amiss to premise here something concerning the human soul; and that the soul of man is a spiritual substance, independent on the matter it informs, is evident to any who considers the power and freedom of its operations, which no accident can be supposed to have; and which matter, with all its refinements and maturations, can never be able to perform. It has however been questioned, whether the souls of men are infused into them immediately from God, or whether they are derived, *ex traduce*, from their parents. The latter opinion has been maintained, from all other creatures having the power of propagating their species in full perfection; by which it seems to follow, that mankind were indued with the same; from the likeness of temper, and disposition of mind, which children often take from their parents; and from the indecency of

[a] Ray's Physico-theological Discourses, chap. 4.

con-

conceiving God to be incessantly making souls, whenever the sexes are stimulated to satisfy their natural appetite. But it is scarce possible to maintain the immateriality and immortality of the human soul on this supposition; for, if the soul be propagated by generation, it must, to our best apprehension, be material, and liable to corruption[t]: it is therefore more reasonable to believe, that though God has committed the formation of our bodies to the agency of second causes, yet he has reserved the production of our souls to himself, who is the Father and "God of the spirits of all flesh[u]."

Whether our souls were created at once, or successively.

It has also been doubted, whether the souls of mankind were all created at once, together with that of Adam, in order to be united to certain bodies which should be prepared afterwards for their reception; or whether they are successively created, as the bodies they are to inform are made fit to receive them? Such of the old philosophers, who believed the soul to be a distinct substance from the body, as Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Plato, concluded, that all souls must pre-exist in the universe before generation and transmigration into their respective bodies; and this doctrine was not confined to human souls only, but extended universally to all souls and lives whatsoever; for the ancients were so far from denying the sense and consciousness of brutes, that the generality of them allowed them the faculty of reasoning[w], though they were not able to express their thoughts, as man did: for which reason they were supposed, by some, to transmigrate indifferently from men into other animals, and from animals into men; it being only the difference of the organs, and the modification of the matter to which they were united, wherein consisted the seeming disparity of their powers. Several of the ancient Christians have also believed the pre-existence of souls, induced by this consideration, that it was incongruous to bring God upon the stage perpetually, and make him immediately interpose every-where in the generation of men, by the miraculous production of their souls out of nothing. Nay, the continual creation and decreation of the souls of brutes have been thought so improbable, that it has been fancied they are only so many particular eradiations, or effluxes, from that source of life above, which animate such matter as is fitly prepared to receive and be actuated by

t Vide Cudworth. Intel. Syst. p. 38. u Numb. xvi. 22. Vide Mr. Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 223, &c. w Vide Plutarch. de Placitis Philos. lib. v. cap. 20. See Bayle Dict. Hist. art. Pereira, rem. E.

 them,

them, so long as it continues such; but when those organized bodies, by reason of their indisposition, become incapable of being farther acted upon, are resumed and retracted into that original head or fountain; it seeming not at all absurd to grant perpetuity of duration to the souls even of brutes, any more than to every the least particle of matter [x]. Nor is this doctrine of pre-existence unknown to the Mohammedans, who imagine, that God drew out of the loins of Adam all his posterity at once, and made a covenant with them, that they should acknowlege him for their lord [y]. They say, that all these men were actually assembled together in a valley near Mecca, or, as others say, in the plain of Dahia in India, in the shape of pismires, which were indued with understanding; and after they had, in the presence of the angels, as witnesses, confessed their dependence on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor [z]. That the Jews had likewise some notion of the soul's existing before the body, appears from their question put to our Saviour, whether the man that was born blind [a] had himself sinned, or his parents, to deserve that punishment; and as this opinion was not then contradicted, some have supposed it to have been thereby tacitly approved.

Notwithstanding which, the vulgar opinion of the successive creation of souls may, with good reason, be allowed; for why should we imagine, that God put forth all his creative vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a spectator only of the consequent result, and permitting nature alone to do all, without any farther interposition [b]? and how is it possible, that, if our souls ever were in such a state of pre-existence, we should have so perfectly lost all memory and consciousness of any such thing?

Whether men before Adam.

Before we have done with this subject, we must take some notice of the opinion of those, who think mankind were in being before Adam, who was the progenitor of the Jews only. To support which, they allege, that Moses makes mention of two distinct creations, one of mankind in general [c], and the other of Adam and Eve [d]; and, in the progress of his history, gives strong intimations, that there were several more men in the world when they were created; else it is not easily to be conceived how Cain could be a tiller of the ground [e], which must pre-suppose

x Cudworth, ubi supra, p. 44[illegible] &c. y Al Koran, cap. 7. ver. [illegible]. z See D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p. 54. Marraccius in Alcoran. p. 290. a John ix. 2. b Cudworth, ubi supra. c Genes. i. 27. d Genes. ii. 7. Ibid. ver. 1. Genes. iv. 2.

all

all the artificers that have relation to tillage; or what reason he had to apprehend, that every one that found him would slay him[f]; nor can his going into another country, marrying a wife, and building a city[g], be otherwise accounted for. From which they would infer, that Moses intended only to give an account of the origin of the Jews, and not of the primitive parents of the whole human race[h]. These objections are easily answered; for the passage wherein the creation of man is mentioned the second time, is plainly no more than a recapitulation of what had been said before of the creation of the world in general, with a more particular detail of that of our first parents. And, as to the numbers of men supposed to be in the world about the time of the murder of Abel, it is by no means improbable, that these should be the descendents of Adam and Eve, whose posterity, in the space of near one hundred and thirty years (for it was in that year of Adam's age that Seth, who was given in lieu of Abel, was born) might, by a fair calculation, be multiplied to many thousand souls, considering the primitive fecundity, and that none are supposed to have died in the interim[i].

Their difference in colour accounted for.

But the most plausible objection of the Pre-Adamites is, that, if Adam and Eve be allowed to be the progenitors of all mankind, there can be no tolerable cause assigned of the difference in colour between the whites and the blacks; it being very improbable they were both the offspring of the same parents. To this it may be answered, that the variety of complexions in the world may be rationally accounted for another way. We know how the hair and colour of men's bodies differ, according to the climate they inhabit, and their greater or less distance from the sun: we may therefore well conclude, that the first colony, which settled in a very hot country, received a great change in their complexion, proportionable to the heat of the climate, and became very tawny, gradually inclining to blackness, as the sun was more intense upon them. Hence, in a generation or two, that high degree of tawniness might become natural, and at length the pride of the natives. The men might begin to value themselves upon this complexion, and the women to affect them the better for it; so that their love for their husbands, and daily conversation with them, might have a considerable influence upon the fruit of their wombs, and make each child grow blacker and blacker, according

[f] Genes. iv. 14. [g] Ibid. ver. 16, 17. [h] Vide Peyrerii Præ-Adamit. lib. iii. cap. 4. Blount's Oracles of Reason, p. 218. [i] Vide Nicholls's Conference with a Theist, vol. i part 2.

to the fancy and imagination of the mother; the force of which is evident from many instances. Upon this supposition, the children thus produced must every birth approach nearer to an absolute blackness; and, as their tender bodies came to be exposed naked (as the manner of such countries is) to the violent heat of the sun, their skin must needs be scorched in an extraordinary manner, and, perhaps, its very texture altered, and by that means contract a blackness far superior to that of their parents. By such degrees it is not improbable that people of the fairest complexion, when removed into a very hot climate, may, in a few generations, become perfect negroes. As to what some have imagined, that this blackness was at first preternatural, and a judgment inflicted upon Ham, the son of Noah, for discovering his father's nakedness[k], and that all people of that complexion are the progeny of that undutiful son; this seems very unlikely, and without foundation, the curse on that occasion being laid on Canaan, the son of Ham, by name, and yet his posterity are allowed not to have been black.

Things made prior to the creation.

The Mohammedans, who have very right notions as to the creation of the world in six days, do, however, believe, that God, previous to that creation, made the table, whereon, as they suppose, his decrees are written; the pen wherewith they are written; the waters whereon his throne is established; and the throne itself[l]: wherein they have imitated the Jews, who say, that God created seven things before the world; viz. paradise, the law, the souls of just men, Israel, the throne of God's glory, Jerusalem, and the Messiah[m].

Of angels.

Before we quit this subject, it may be expected we should say something of the creation of the angels, who so eminently concerned themselves in the affairs of mankind, at least in the first ages of the world.

Angels, in the proper signification of the word[n], do not import the nature of any being, but only the office, to which they are appointed, especially by way of message, or intercourse between God and his creatures; in which sense they are called the ministers of God, who do his pleasure;

[k] Genes. ix. 22. [l] Vide Ecchellens. Hist. Arab. cap. 9. [m] Massechet Pesachim. [n] The word *angel* is Greek, and signifies a *messenger*: the Hebrew מלאך, the Arabic, and Persian words, signify the same thing. The angels are in Daniel (chap. iv. ver. 13, &c.) called עירים, or *watchers*, from their vigilance; for which reason they are, in the remains we have of the prophecy attributed to Enoch, named *egregori*; which word implies the same in Greek.

and ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation. That there are such beings as we call angels, that is, certain permanent substances, invisible and imperceptible to our senses, indued with understanding and power superior to that of human nature, created by God, and subject to him, as the supreme being, ministering to his divine providence in the government of the world, by his appointment, and more especially attending the affairs of mankind, is a truth so fully attested by scripture, that it cannot be doubted; and was so generally acknowleged by the Jews, that it is scarce to be believed that even the Sadducees themselves utterly denied their existence; but only that they had no notion of their appearing in those latter times; as many Christians, though they do not absolutely impugn the being of spirits, yet are far from giving credit to the frequent stories of apparitions. Nay, the existence of such invisible beings was generally acknowleged by the ancient heathens, though under different appellations; the Greeks calling them dæmons, and the Romans genii, or lares [d]: Epicurus seems to have been the only one among the old philosophers, who absolutely rejected them [e]; and indeed, the belief of middle intelligences influencing the affairs of the world, and serving as ministers or interpreters between God and man, is as extensive as the belief of a God; having never, as we know, been called in question by those who had any religion at all.

And, had we no such revelation and tradition, it seems very reasonable to suppose there are intermediate beings to fill up the gap which would otherwise be in nature: for as there is a gradation of creatures on earth, some having barely being, as earth, air, and water; some that, besides being have life, as vegetables; some, that besides life have sense and perception, as brute animals; and some, that besides sense have reason and cogitation, as men; and as we see our sensitive part exists in beings beneath us; so it is very probable, that our more noble and intellectual part exists in beings as much superior to us, as we are to brutes; and that there is a like gradual ascent from the lowest rank of them, which borders upon man, to the highest, which comes as near as a finite creature can, to an infinite deity [f].

[d] Vide Plutarch. de Placitis Philos. lib. i. cap. 8. & Varron. apud August. de Civit. Dei. lib. vii. cap. 6. [e] Vide Plut. ibid. [f] Vide Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 185, &c.

When created.

That the angels were in being long before the Mosaic creation, is generally allowed[g]; and indeed cannot be doubted, since they were actually present, if not employed, in that creation, when the morning-stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy[h]; and since it is more than probable, that the fall of the apostate angels was some time at least before it.

Their nature, power, employment, &c.

As to the natures of these beings, we are told, that they are spirits[i]; but whether pure spirits, divested of all matter, or united to some thin bodies, or corporeal vehicles, has been a controversy of long standing. Not only the ancient philosophers, but some of the Christian fathers[k], were of opinion, that angels were clothed with ethereal or fiery bodies, of the same nature with those which we shall one day have, when we come to be equal to them. But the more current opinion, especially of later times, has been, that they are substances entirely spiritual, though they can, at any time, assume bodies, and appear in human, or other shapes[l].

That the angelical powers and abilities vastly excel those of man, cannot be denied, if we consider, that their faculties are not clogged or impeded, as ours are, by any of those imperfections which are inseparable from corporeal beings: so that their understandings are always in perfect vigour; their inclinations regular; their motions strong and quick; their actions irresistible by material bodies, whose natural qualities they can control, or manage to their purposes; and occasion either blessings or calamities, public or private, here below; instances of which are too numerous to mention.

Besides their attendance on God, and their waiting and executing his commands, they are also presumed to be employed in taking care of mankind, and their concerns: and that every man had such a tutelar or guardian angel, even from his birth, was a firm belief and tradition among the Jews; and our Saviour himself seems to have been of the same sentiment[m]. The heathens were also of the same

g Vide Burnet. Archæol. lib ii. p. 300, &c. h Job xxxviii 7. Yet some have imagined they were created the first day, and designed by Moses under the name of light: others, that they were created the sixth day, after man, to crown and consummate the creation, which rose by degrees from the less to the more perfect parts. Vide Tillotson's Serm. vol. ii. k S Basil, S. Athanasius, and Methodius; and also S. Augustin. apud Sixt. Senens. lib. v. Annot. 8. Vide acta concil. Nicen. 2. act 5. l Maimonid. More Nev. p. ii. cap. 49. m Vide Matth. xviii. 10.

persuasion,

persuasion [n], and thought it a crime to neglect the admonitions of so divine a guide [o]. Socrates publicly confessed himself to be under the direction of such an angel, or dæmon, as several others have since done [p]. And on this tutelar genius of each person, they believed his happiness and fortune depended. Every genius did his best for the interest of his client; and, if a man came by the worst, it was a sign the strength of his genius was inferior to that of his opponent, that is, of an inferior order; and this was governed by chance. There were some genii, whose ascendant was so great over others, that their very presence entirely disconcerted them; which was the case of that of Augustus in respect of that of M. Antony [q]: and for the same reason, perhaps, some persons have wit, and speak well, when others are absent, in whose presence they are confounded, and out of countenance. The Romans thought the tutelar genii of those who attained the empire, to be of an eminent order, on which account they had great honours shewn them: nations and cities also had their several genii [r]. The ancient Persians so firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over human affairs, that they gave their names to their months, and the days of their months, and assigned them distinct offices and provinces [s]: and it is from them the Jews confess to have received the names of the months and angels, which they brought with them when they returned from the Babylonish captivity [t]: after which, we find they also assigned charges to the angels, and, in particular, the patronage of empires and nations; Michael being the prince of the Jews [u], as Raphael is supposed to have been of the Persians [x].

The Mohammedans have so great a respect for the angels, that they account a man an infidel, who either denies their existence, or loves them not. They believe them to be free from sin, enjoying the presence of God, to whom they are never disobedient; that they are subtil pure bo-

[n] Vide Menand. Arrian. in Epictet. [o] Vide M. Antonin. Meditat. lib. ii. § 15. lib. v. § 19, &c. Plotin. Ennead. III. lib. iv. Diog. Laert. in Zenon. p. 418. [p] Particularly Plotinus, whose dæmon is said to have appeared at the evocation of an Egyptian priest in the temple of Isis at Rome, in the presence of Plotinus himself, and proved to be a god, and not a simple dæmon; whereupon Plotinus was immediately congratulated by the priest, on so extraordinary a prerogative. Porphyr. in Vita Plotini. [q] Plutarch. in Antonio, p. 930. [r] Vide Dodwel. Præl. ii. ad. Spart. Hadrian. p. 176, &c. [s] Vide Hyde, Rel. Vet. Perf. cap. 19, & 20. [t] Talmud Hierosol. in Rosh hashana. [u] Dan. xii. 1. [x] Hyde, ubi sup. p. 270, 273.

dies, being created of light; and have no distinction of sexes, nor do they need the refreshment of food or sleep. They suppose them to have different forms and offices; that some adore God in several postures, others sing his praises, and intercede for men, some carry and encompass his throne; others write the actions of men, and are assigned guardians to them [y].

As the numbers of these celestial spirits are very great [z], it is likewise reasonable to believe, that there are several orders and degrees among them, which is also confirmed by scripture. whence some speculative men have distributed them into nine orders, according to the different names they are there called by; and reduced those orders into three hierarchies, as they call them, to the first of which belong seraphim, cherubim, and thrones, to the second, dominions, virtues, and powers; and to the third, principalities, archangels, and angels. They imagine further, that there are some who constantly reside in heaven, others who are ministers, and sent forth, as there is occasion, to execute the orders they receive from God by the former. The Jews reckon but four orders, or companies of angels [a], each headed by an archangel; the first order being that of Michael, the second of Gabriel, the third of Uriel, and the fourth of Raphael. But though the Jews believe them to be but four, yet, it seems, there were rather seven [b]. The Persians also held there were subordinate degrees among the angels [c].

Of the fallen angels.

Although the angels were originally created perfect, good, and obedient to their Maker's will, yet some of them sinned [d], and kept not their first estate [e], but left their habitation; and so, of the most blessed and glorious, became the most vile and miserable of all God's creatures. They were expelled the regions of light, and cast down to hell, to be reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, until the day of judgment. With heaven they lost their heavenly disposition, which delighted once in doing good, and praising God; and fell into a settled rancour against him, and malice against men. their inward peace was gone; all desire of doing good departed from them; and, instead thereof, revengeful thoughts and despair took possession of them, and created an eternal hell within them.

[y] Compendium Theolog. Moham. cap. 3. apud Reland. de Rel. Mohammed. [z] Revel. v. 11. [a] Maimonid. More Nevoch. part ii. cap. 10. [b] Revel. iv. 5. viii. 2. Tobit xii. 15. [c] Vide Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Perf. cap. 19. & 29. [d] 2 Pet. ii. 4. [e] Jude ver. 6.

When

When, and for what offence, these apostate spirits fell from heaven, and plunged themselves into such an abyss of wickedness and woe, are questions very hard, if not impossible, to be determined by any clear evidence of scripture. As to the time, it is most reasonable to believe, that their fall preceded the creation of the world; though some have imagined it to have been after; and that carnality, or lusting to converse with women upon earth, was the sin which ruined them [g]: an opinion built on a mistaken interpretation of scripture, as if angels were meant by the sons of God, who are said to have begotten the mighty men of old on the daughters of men [h]. Others have supposed, that the angels, being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify his nature by Christ's assuming it, and thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby, envied man's happiness, and so revolted [i]: and with this opinion that of the Mohammedans has some affinity, who are taught, that the devil, who was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, and named Azazil [k], forfeited paradise for refusing to worship, or pay homage to Adam, at the command of God [l]. But on what occasion soever it first shewed itself, pride seems to have been the leading sin of the angels [m]: who, admiring and valuing themselves too much on the excellence of their nature, and the height of their station, came at length to entertain so little respect for their Creator, as to be guilty of downright rebellion and apostasy [n]. *The time of their fall, their offence, &c.*

It is certain, from scripture, that these fallen angels were in great numbers [o], and that there was also some order and subordination preserved among them; one especially being considered as their prince, and called by several names, Beelzebub, Satan, or Sammael, by the Jews; Ahâriman, by the Persians; and Eblis, by the Mohammedans. Their constant employment is not only doing evil themselves, but endeavouring, by all arts and means, to seduce and pervert mankind, by tempting them to all kind of sin, and thereby bringing them into the same desperate state with themselves.

Besides the angels and devils, the Mohammedans believe there are a sort of intermediate creatures, which they call *Of intermediate spirits, or genii.*

g Josephus, Philo Jud. Origen, Tertullian, &c. h Genes. vi. 2, 4. i Irenæus, Lactantius, Gregory Nyssen, &c. k Vide Reland. de Rel. Mohammed. p. 189, &c. l Al Korân, cap. ii. ver. 54. m Vide 1 Tim. iii. 6. and the magnificent comparison of the fall of proud Sennacherib to that of Lucifer, Isaiah xiv. 12. &c. n The opinion of St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Athanasius, &c. o Yet some have endeavoured to prove there is no more than one devil. Vide Lettres de Bayle, tom. i. p. 360.

jin,

jin, or genii, of a groffer fabric than angels; fome of whom are good, and others bad, and capable of future falvation, or damnation, as men are. The Orientals pretend, that thefe genii inhabited the world for many thoufand years before the creation of Adam, under the reigns of feveral princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon: but, falling at length, into an almoft general corruption, Eblis was fent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that fome of that generation ftill remaining were by Tahmûrath, one of the ancient kings of Perfia, who waged war againft them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kâf: of which fucceffions, and wars, they have many fabulous and romantic ftories. They alfo make different ranks and degrees among this kind of beings (if they are not rather of different fpecies), fome being called abfolutely jin; fome, peri or fairies; fome, div, or giants; others, tacwins or fates [p].

As to the ancient Greeks and Romans, we do not find they had any notion of evil fpirits, or devils, in the ufual fenfe of the word, if we except only Plutarch's evil principle before mentioned. Their infernal gods were not conceived to be of an evil nature; and though they believed the Furies were the tormentors of wicked men in another life, yet they looked on them as goddeffes, and the avengers only of evil actions.

Much more might be added to what we have already faid on thefe fubjects; but as we have given the opinions of the moft celebrated philofophers, it is not neceffary to be more diffufe.

[p] Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 369. 820, &c.

APPENDIX.

The History of the Etruscans.

SECT. I.

Description of Etruria.

THAT the Etruscans, in times of very remote antiquity, were masters of almost all Italy, appears probable from several authors. The whole region called Italia by the Latins, went under the name of Tyrrhenia amongst the more ancient Greeks, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis [a]; a circumstance which seems to imply, that it was formerly subject to the Tyrrhenians, or Etruscans, and from them received that denomination. Livy [b] and Plutarch intimate, that the seas which, in some measure, surround Italy, that is, the Tyrrhenian, the Ionian, and the Adriatic, were anciently denominated the Etruscan sea; and that the Etruscans possessed all that vast tract extending from the Alps to the streights separating Italy from Sicily. They built twelve cities beyond the Tiber, afterwards the boundary of the Proper Etruria on that side, according to Strabo [c]; and that Nola [d] and Capua acknowleged them for their founders, we learn from Cato: nay, they had *Italy formerly subject to the Etruscans.*

[a] Dion. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. [b] Liv. lib. i. & v. Plut. in Mario. [c] Strab. lib. v. [d] Cato, apud Vel Paterc. lib. i. cap. 7.

twelve

twelve capital cities, or heads of lucumonies[e], in the tract terminated by the Po and the Alps, as may be collected from history. Virgil and Silius Italicus rank Cæsena and Mantua amongst the cities of Etruscan extraction; and indeed, that this most ancient nation, in very early times, occupied the whole tract between the Alps and the Apennines, sufficiently appears from Livy. Pliny says[f], that Bononia, or, as it is now called, Bologna, was anciently looked upon as the principal city of Etruria; an assertion which implies, that there was a time when Etruria comprehended that part of Italy lying between the Alps and the Apennines. In confirmation of the above-mentioned authorities, it may be observed, that many Etruscan relics and fragments of antiquity have been dug up in various provinces of the kingdom of Naples[g], Verona, Padua, &c. as well as the duchy of Tuscany, or the Proper Etruria.

The Latins a colony of the Etrus-

Italy, however, must be allowed to have been a very ancient name; but then it was first limited to a small part of the region afterwards so called. Aristotle[h] and Antiochus Syracusanus assign this appellation first to a tract comprising only the Brutian territory, and part of Lucania; though it afterwards reached the districts even contiguous to the Alps. It is probable that the kingdom of Latium was a colony of the Etruscans; and that the first traces of the city of Rome[i] may possibly have been owing to that nation (A).

The Gauls making[k], at different times, irruptions into Etruria, by degrees, seized upon that part of it situated between the Alps and the Apennines, as we learn from Livy and Plutarch.

In the superior part of Etruria, several colonies of Greeks found means to make settlements; and from them it was called Magna Græcia[l]. These colonies gradually insinuating themselves into the country, at various periods, made themselves masters of it; but the precise time of every conquest we cannot pretend to ascertain. It will not be

[e] Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. iv. cap. 110. Scip. Maff. Orig. Etrusc. & Lat. cap. 2. Lipsiæ, 1731. [f] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 15. [g] Scip. Maff. ubi supra. [h] Aristot. Polit. lib. vii. cap. 10. Antioch. Syracusan. apud Dion. Halicar. Strab. lib. vi. Bochart. Chan. lib. 1. cap. 33. [i] Alcim. & Cuman. Hist. ant. apud Fest. [k] Liv. lib. v. Plut. in Camil. [l] Phil. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 1.

(A) Antiochus Syracusanus, who was an admirable compiler of ancient history, affirms Rome to have been built long before the Trojan war by the Pelasgi; an assertion which is also confirmed by Plutarch.

improper

improper to observe, that the Gauls [o], or inhabitants of Gallia Celtica, made four irruptions into Etruria before they conquered the tract above mentioned. The first of these happened about six hundred years before the birth of Christ, and the last a little before the taking of Rome by Brennus.

The Etruscans were likewise dispossessed of a pretty large extent of territory, by the Samnites and Ligurians, long before they submitted to the Romans. This fact we learn from Mela [p], Livy, and Strabo. So that, at last, they found themselves confined within the limits of Etruria Propria, where, for several ages, they made a very considerable figure. As we know little of the Etruscans, whilst in the zenith of their power, it would be improper to attempt a description of all the countries they at that time possessed: it will therefore be sufficient to give our readers a general idea of the boundaries and principal cities of the Proper Etruria. *The Samnites and Ligurians seize upon part of Etruria.*

Etruria Propria, Etruria Posterior, or, as it is simply styled by most of the Latin writers, Etruria, was bounded on the east by the Tiber [q], on the west by the Macra, on the south by the Tyrrhenian sea, and on the north by the Apennines. The most ancient Greeks called it Tyrsenia; but Polybius [r], and those who lived after him, denominated this country Tyrrhenia. Tyrsenia is undoubtedly the true name, as corresponding with that of the Lydian prince, Tyrsenus, under whose conduct, according to Herodotus [s], the Tyrseni, or Tyrrheni, first made a settlement in Italy. *Limits of Etruria Propria.*

Etruria was divided into twelve states or dynasties [t], every one of which had its peculiar city. These were Volsinii, Camers or Clusium, Cortona, Perusia, Arretium, Falerii, Tarquinii, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, Vetulonii or Vetulonium, Cære, and Veii; to which some add Luna [u], Fæsulæ, and Populonium. Each of the Tuscan states, or tribes, was governed by its own prince, called in the Etruscan language lucumo, and received its denomination from the capital city. *Etruria divided into twelve tribes.*

Volsinii, now Bolsena, stood on the confines of Latium, about forty-five miles north-west of Rome, near a lake called by the ancient Romans Lacus Volsiniensis, and by the modern Italians Lago di Bolsena. That this was one of the most famous and opulent cities of Etruria, appears *Volsinii.*

o Liv. lib. v. cap. 34, 35. p Mel. lib. ii. cap. 4. Liv. lib. xli. Strab. lib. v. q Strabo, lib. v. Plin. lib. iii cap. 5. r Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 1 sub. init. s Herod. lib. i. t Liv. lib. iv. v. vii. &c. u Tho. Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. iv. cap. 14. 19, 20. Florentiæ, 1724.

from

from Livy [w]. It was once destroyed by lightning, and reduced by the Romans, under the conduct of M. Fulvius Flaccus, in the year of Rome 489. The citizens of Volsinii seem to have been skilful artificers, at least in the art of statuary [x], by the great number of statues carried from thence to Rome. Pliny affirms, that the invention of hand-mills was owing to the people of Volsinii. Volsena is a town of little note, though frequently passed through by travellers, as lying in the great Roman road; and consequently no traces of its former opulence and grandeur are now to be discovered.

Clusium. Clusium, or, as it is now called, Chiusi, stood upon the [y] Clanis, the Chiana of the present Tuscans, about twenty-eight miles north of Volsinii, and sixty-five north-west of Rome. The marsh or lake near it was denominated by the ancients Palus [z] Clusina, and Lacus Clusinus; but it has for several ages been considered by the moderns as part of the Chiana, into which the Tresa discharges itself, not far from Chiusi. This city was justly celebrated for being the seat of the Tuscan [a] kings before the Trojan war; as also for being the residence of Porsena, who was at the head of the Etruscan lucumonies; for, though the twelve capital cities above mentioned were immediately governed by their respective princes [b], yet they were all under one supreme head, or sovereign, and, at all critical junctures especially, submitted to his authority. Clusium seems to have been built by the Umbri, who, according to Pliny, were indigenæ, or some of the first inhabitants of Italy.

Rusellæ. Rusellæ, or, as the Etruscans anticntly wrote it, Rusel, was a city of great antiquity, and the capital of a lucumony [c]. It stood on a hill [d], at a small distance from the Lacus Prilis or Prelius, now the Lago di Castiglione. From its ruins has risen the town of Moscona, near the mineral waters called Bagni di Roselle, about three miles north of Grosseto. That Rusellæ was a city of wealth and power in the year of Rome 146. i. e. above six hundred years before Christ, and therefore probably preceded the Trojan war, may be inferred from the best authors, who have treated of the infancy of the Roman state.

[w] Liv. lib. v. ix. x. Vide etiam Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Roman. lib. xiv. Plin. lib. ii. cap. 52. Valer. Max. lib. ix. cap. 1. & Zonar. Annal. lib. ii. [x] Metrod. Sepsius apud Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 7. [y] Vide Cluver Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. p. 566, 567, 568. [z] Strab. lib. v. [a] Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. ii. cap. 41. 43. & lib. iv. cap. 18. [b] Dion. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. [c] Dion. Halicar. Antiquit. Rom. lib. iii. Liv. pass. [d] Phil. Cluver. ubi supra. p. 513.

Cortona,

Cortona, or rather Croton, was a city at least coeval with the first migration of the Pelasgî, or Tyrseni, into Italy; if it was not of Umbrian original. It is seated upon a hill, about thirty miles west of Perûsia, between a ridge of mountains, called by [e] Livy from their proximity to it, the mountains of Cortona, and the Lacus Thrasymenus, now the Lago di Perugia. *Cortona.*

Perusia, now Perugia, an inland city of Etruria, stood [f] upon the Tiber, near the famous mount Ciminus. It was a place of very considerable note in the earlier ages of the Roman republic, and [g] in the times of the kings. Some take it to have been built by Tarchon[h], a very early Etruscan prince; and others, by the Tyrsenian king Ocnus, who, notwithstanding what has been advanced by Virgil, lived long before the Trojan war: be that as it may, no-one ever doubted of its very remote antiquity; and that it was one of the twelve original cities of Etruria, is beyond all [i] manner of dispute. *Perusia.*

Aretium, or Arretium, now Arezzo, was an inland city of Etruria, in a mountainous tract, about a thousand stadia from Rome, according to [k] Strabo. It appears from [l] Silius Italicus, and others, that some of the ancient kings of Etruria held their residence here. That it was a place of great fame in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, above six hundred years before the commencement of the Christian æra, we learn from [m] Dionysius Halicarnassensis. The wall which surrounded Arretium, was so singular a curiosity that it merited the attention [n] of Pliny and Vitruvius. This city was famous for the earthen ware [o] it produced. It stood at a small distance from the Apennines, as well as the source of a little river, now called the Cersone. It was likewise very near the confluence of the Clanis, in the middle of whose course was the famous lake above mentioned, [p] and the Arno. *Arretium.*

Falerii, or rather Falesii, was the capital of the Falisci, and is supposed to have occupied that spot of ground on which at present stands Citta Castellana. However, the *Falerii.*

[e] Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 4. [f] Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, cap. 3. Tho. Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. v. cap. 10. [g] Appian. Bel. Civil. lib. v. p. 699. Liv. lib. ix. [h] Serv. ad Æn. x. Vide etiam Cluver. & Dempest. ubi supra. [i] Appian. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. lib. xx. Liv. lib. ix. & Strab. lib. v. [k] Strab. lib. v. [l] Sil. Ital. Punicor. lib. vii. Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. ii. cap. 54. p. 220. [m] Dion. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. iii. [n] Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 14. Viteruv. lib. ii. cap. 8. [o] Plin. ubi supra, cap. 12. [p] Polyb. lib. ii. Vide etiam Cluver. ubi supra, cap. 3. p. 571—573. & Dempst. ubi supra, lib. v. cap. 7. p. 308—313.

learned are not agreed in this particular. In the word Falisci the ancient name Pelasgi, or Thelasgi, plainly appears. That Falerii, or Falesii, was a place of great antiquity, may be inferred from [q] Strabo. It is likewise represented as a fortress of vast strength by Livy and [r] Plutarch. [s] Antonio Massa Galesius has written a particular treatise of the origin and atchievements of the Falisci; to which we refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

Tarquinii. Tarquinii, Tarcunia, or Tarchonia, was a city of great note in the earliest times, and the seat of a lucumo. It is supposed to have been built by Tarchon [t], a Tyrsenian prince, whom some make the same with Tages, several centuries before the Trojan war: but the precise time of its foundation, for want of sufficient light from ancient history, cannot be determined. The ruins of Tarquinii are still to be seen, at a small village about a mile north of Corneto, called by the modern Tuscans Tarquinia. L. Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome [u], was born here. As the Tarquinian lucumony extended as far as the Lago di Bolsena, we find that lake denominated by Pliny [w] Lacus Tarquiniensis. The Tyrsenians, or Etruscans [x], feigned Tages to have first appeared in this district. Tarquinii stood at a small distance from the sea, upon the Marta, which, at present, retains its ancient name.

Volaterræ. Volaterræ, now Volterra, was the head of a lucumony, and a very ancient city; as sufficiently appears from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Tully and Livy, as well as from the numerous relics and fragments of antiquity that have for several ages been discovered in its neighbourhood. It stood upon the summit of a steep mountain, whose declivity was fifteen stadia, and even many more on one side, according to Aristotle [y], as explained by Cluverius. For a farther account of this situation, our readers may have recourse to [z] Aristotle, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and Strabo.

Vetulonium. Vetulonium, in some of the earliest ages at least, seems to have been not only the residence of a lucumo, but even the principal city of Etruria; for it was, according to Silius [a], the ornament, and consequently the most illustrious, of all

[q] Strab. lib. v. [r] Liv. lib. v. Plut. in Camil. [s] Anton. Massa de Origine & Rebus gestis Faliscorum, p. 699. Inter Ital. Illustrat. Scriptor. Francof. 1600. [t] Strab. ubi supra. Vide & Phil. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 3. [u] Dion. Halicar. lib. iii. [w] Plin. Nat. Hist lib. ii. cap. 95. [x] Cic. Divinat lib. ii. Censorin. de Die Natal. [y] Aristot. de Mirab. Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 513. [z] Aristot. ubi supra. Dionys. Halicar. lib. iii. Strab. lib. v. [a] Sil. Ital. Punic. lib. viii.

the

the Tyrſenian cities. It plainly appears, that the Romans [b] borrowed their faſces, ſecures, lictores, ſella curulis, and prætexta, from the citizens of Vetulonium. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis repreſents Vetulonium as a city, or rather ſtate, of great power in the time of Romulus; and that it was ſo ſeldom mentioned by the Roman hiſtorians, is owing, according to [c] Dempſter, to its being deſtroyed in the infancy of Rome. The ſituation of Vetulonium is not now perfectly known; but Cluverius ſeems to have the greateſt probability on his ſide, when he ſuppoſes [d] the ruins at preſent called Vetulia, near the Vetletta, or Vetulonian foreſt, about a league from the ſea, to be the remains of Vetulonium. For this notion is not only favoured by the modern names Vetulia and Vetletta, but likewiſe by the hot waters which the Italians call Le Caldane, at a ſmall diſtance from the Vetletta; ſince theſe waters undoubtedly anſwer to the Aquæ Calidæ, which [e] Pliny places in the neighbourhood of the ancient Vetulonium.

Cære, now Cerveteri, was built by the Pelaſgi, after their *Cære.*
expulſion from Theſſaly by the Hellens under the conduct of Deucalion, as we learn [f] from Strabo. It flouriſhed at the time of the Trojan war, when Mezentius [g], king of Etruria, reſided in it. The power and opulence of this city were likewiſe very conſpicuous in the firſt ages of the Roman ſtate, and even long before the birth of Romulus, as we find atteſted by [h] Lycophron, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Virgil, Livy, and Strabo. Cære ſtood upon an eminence, about four miles off the Tyrrhenian ſea, and not far from the confines of Latium. The Theſſalian Pelaſgi at firſt denominated it Agylla, but the Tyrſenians afterwards Cære.

Veii was a very potent and renowned city of Etruria, *Veii.*
whoſe diſtrict or lucomony might have been conſidered as the Etruſcan frontier on the ſide of Latium. It was a place of [i] great wealth, ſurrounded by a high wall of vaſt ſtrength, and almoſt inacceſſible by its ſituation; but frequently embroiled with the Romans. However, after a vigorous defence, it fell a victim to their reſentment, or rather inſatiable ambition, being taken [k] and demoliſhed by Camillus, and the inhabitants tranſplanted to Rome. The diſtrict or ter-

[b] Dempſt. de Etrur. Regal lib. iii. cap. 24. p. 306, 307. Vide & Phil. Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 473. [c] Sil. Ital. ubi ſupra. Dionyſ. Halicar. lib. ii. [d] Phil. Cluv. ubi ſupra, p. 47[illegible]. [e] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 103. [f] Strab. lib. v. [g] Liv. lib. i. Virg. Æn. lib. vii. viii. [h] Lycophr. in Alexand. Dion. Hal. Antiquit. Roman. lib. iii. Liv. & Virg. ubi ſupra. Strab. lib. v. [i] Dion. Hal. Plut. ubi ſupra. [k] Liv. lib. v. cap. 21.

ritory of Veii was of a considerable extent, and bounded by the Tiber on the side of Latium, before the birth of Romulus; and the city at the time of its reduction, larger and more magnificent than Rome. Its situation, according to Cluverius[m], was somewhere near the spot upon which Scrofano at present stands; though this cannot now (B) be precisely determined. The twelve lucumonies of Etruria, by their original constitution, which must have preceded the Trojan war several ages, were obliged to act in conjunction on all important occasions; and therefore the others refused to assist Veii, because it had placed itself under regal government without their privity and approbation. This circumstance is an incontestable proof of the high antiquity of Veii[n].

Luna. Luna was a large city famous for its harbour, the town stood on the Tuscan side of the Macra, where it falls into the sea; but the harbour was on the other side of that river, at the distance of two short miles, now known by the name of the gulph of Spetia, comprehended in the ancient Liguria. The ruins of Luna are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Sarzana.

Fæsulæ. Fæsulæ, now Fiesole, stood at the foot of the Apennines, and made[o] a considerable figure long before the Romans subjugated Etruria. As the Æolic digamma, in some Etruscan words, almost entirely loses[p] its power, or at most comes up barely to a note of aspiration, the earlier Tuscans might pronounce Fæsulæ, Esule, or Hesule, though they wrote it Fesule. In which case, we may deduce it from the Arabic[q] word אצל, which signifies *a root* or *foot of a moun-*

[m] Phil Cluver. ubi supra, p 530, 531. [n] Liv. lib v. sub. init. [o] Polyb. lib. ii. Liv lib. xxii. Cic in Cat. Sal. pass. Plin. Ptol. &c. Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p 509, 510 & Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. iv cap. 19. [p] Tab. Eugubin. iv. lib. 5 25, &c. vii. lib 4, &c. Tab. apud Gor. Mus. Etrusc. clxx. Vide & Gor. ibid. p. 423. [q] Al Zamakhsharius.

(B) The situation of Veii seems to have been pretty well determined by the later antiquaries: they place it near the banks of the Cremera, now the Valca, at a small distance from a famous inn, called la Storta, about ten miles north-west of Rome. Upon this spot several vestiges of an exceeding large ancient city were to be seen in the time of Lucas Holstenius; and we are told by the learned Justus Fontaninus, that some noble fragments of ancient marble pillars, bases, statues, &c. were not many years since, dug up there by some workmen, employed for that purpose by Cardinal Chigi (1).

(1) Luc. Holsten. in Not. ad Cluver. p. 55. Just. Fontanin, de Antiquit. Hort. p. 77, 78. Romæ, 1723.

tain;

tain; and this seems to be countenanced by the local proper name [p] Azal, or Asal, that occurs in Scripture. It may likewise be derived from [q] Phasal, Phesal, or Fesal, as the Tuscans [r] had an excellent quarry of marble near Luna, and were famed for their skill in [s] architecture and masonry, from remote antiquity. That it was a very old town, appears both from [t] Diodorus Siculus, and an ancient Etruscan [u] relic, that was not many years since discovered in the neighbourhood of this place.

Populonium. Populonium, Populonia, or Populonii (for it went by all these names,) in Etruscan Pupulun, or Pupulum, stood [w] upon a high promontory of the same name, that, projecting into the sea, formed a kind of peninsula, according to Strabo. It had a very commodius [x] harbour, capable of receiving a large number of ships; and consequently was of great importance to the Etruscans. It had also an arsenal, well furnished with [y] all sorts of naval stores, and a quay for the shipping off or landing of goods. Vast [z] quantities of copper, in remote times, were imported here from the island of Æthalia, now Elva or Ilva, where that metal was then produced; but these mines failing, some ages after, iron was discovered in the same place [a], and, as soon as dug up, carried to Populonium. So that the people of Populonium made vessels, and other implements, of copper and brass, even in the earliest times; and afterwards fabricated arms, instruments, machines, and utensils of iron, which they continued to do in the days of Aristotle and Strabo. The ruins of Populonium are still to be seen about three miles west of Bombino, and ten north of the ancient remains of Vetulonium. This maritime town was probably built by the Pelasgi, or inhabitants of Volterra, not long after the erection of the twelve original cities. The port or haven of Populonium is now called Porto Baratto.

As the limits we have here prescribed ourselves, will not permit us to touch upon every city or town of Etruria, mentioned by the ancient geographers and historians, our readers will be satisfied with a brief account of those that were the most famed for their power and antiquity.

Pi[sæ] Pisæ, now Pisa [b], stood near the confluence of the Æsar and the Arnus, at a small distance from the Tyrrhenian sea.

[p] Zach. xiv. 5. Schind. ubi supra, p. 113. [q] Val. Schind. ubi supra, p. 1450. [r] Strab. lib. v. [s] Liv. lib. i. Fest. in voc. Atrium. Vide etiam Scrip. Maff. Orig Etrusc. p. 15, 16. [t] Diod. Sic. lib. xx. [u] Phil. Bonar. Explicat. & Conject. ad Monument. Etrusc. op. Dempst. Addit. p. 95. Florentiæ, 1726. [w] Strab. lib. v. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem. ibid. [z] Strab. lib. v. & Aristot. de Mirab. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Strab. lib. v.

Cato [c] says it was built by Tarchon, the son of Tyrrhenus; but its foundation is attributed either to the Aborigines, or first Pelasgi, by Dionysius [d] Halicarnassensis. The sea between the promontories of Luna and Populonium, that received the Arnus, was called in the Roman times the Pisan gulf, or bay [e] of Pisæ; which shews Pisæ to have been then a very considerable town. But what is said of Pisæ, after the Romans conquered Etruria, does not properly belong to the history of the Etruscans.

Labro. Labro, now Livorno, was situated on the gulf of Pisa [f], about twelve miles south of that city. Cicero [g] calls it Labro, and [h] Zosimus Libernum. Cluverius takes it to be the Ad Herculem of Antoninus. The port, as well as town, of Labro, seems to be taken notice of by Cicero. Livorno, at this day, enjoys a most flourishing and extensive trade.

Telamon. Telamon, now Talmone, a maritime town of Etruria, with a commodious haven, stood upon a promontory of the same name, about nine miles south east of the mouth of the river Umbro, the Ombrone of the moderns.

Cosæ. Cosæ or Cosa, the seat of king Massicus, one of Æneas's auxiliaries, stood upon a hill and promontory, a little above the Port of Hercules, now known by the name of Porto Ercole. The inhabitants took great quantities of the tunny-fish, with which the Tyrrhenian sea in these parts abounded; in order to which they found it requisite to erect an high tower from whence they might view these animals at a considerable distance. This seems to have been a very ancient custom amongst them, as may be inferred from Strabo.

Fanum Voltumnæ. Fanum Voltumnæ was a celebrated city of Etruria, where the twelve Etruscan lucumonies were convened [i] on all extraordinary occasions, supposed [k], by Cluverius, to stand upon the spot occupied, at present, by the city of Viterbo. The Etruscan name of this town has not reached us; but that given it by the Romans, must convince all reasonable people, were other arguments wanting, that the Tyrrhenians came from the East: for it was no uncommon thing for the Canaanites, or Phœnicians, to denominate their cities the temples of their false deities, as we learn from [l] Scripture.

Sutrium. Sutrium, now Sutri [m], was a rich and flourishing city in the ealier ages of Rome, and considered, by the Romans

[c] Cato apud Serv. ad Æn. x. Vide etiam Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 464. [d] Dion. Halicar. Antiquit. Rom. lib. i. [e] Tacit. Histor. lib. iii. [f] Phil. Cluver. ubi sup. p. 468. [g] Cic. ad Attic. [h] Zosim. Histor. lib. v. [i] Liv. lib. iv. [k] Phil. Cluver. ubi sup. p. 565. [l] Deut. xxxiv. 6. Josh. xv. 10. Jer. xlviii. 13, &c. [m] Steph. de Urb. Plut. in Camill. Liv. lib. ix. cap. 32. & alibi pass.

as the key or inlet into Etruria. It was, therefore, undoubtedly esteemed by the Etruscans, when in their possession, as a kind of barrier with regard to Umbria and Latium. It stood about twenty-five or twenty-six miles north-west of Rome; and was taken twice [n] in one day, first by the Etruscans, afterwards by Camillus. Sutrium was first [o] an ally of the Romans, and afterwards one of their colonies and municipia. The time or author of its foundation cannot now be determined.

Nepe. Nepe, Nepet, or Nepete, now Nepi, a town of considerable strength, stood a little to the north-east of Sutrium, upon the borders of the Faliscan territory. Camillus carried this place by assault. In after-ages, it was a Roman colony and municipium.

Fescennium. Fescennium was built either by the Siculi [p] or Pelasgi, and consequently was a town of the highest antiquity. The ruins [q] of it are still visible near Gallese, in the neighbourhood of Citta Castellana. Nuptial songs or poems are said to have been first used by the people of this city, and were therefore called Versus Fescennini. These songs, at [r] first, kept within the bounds that virtue and decency prescribe; but afterwards degenerated into a kind of doggrel, or loose verses, which were a jumble of insipid jests, mixed with all sorts of ribaldry [s].

Alsium. Alsium stood a little east of Cære, and, according to Cluverius, occupied the spot on which, at present, Palo stands.

As for Regisvilla, Fregenæ, Saturnia, Janiculum, Statonia, Graviscæ, Pyrgi, and Horta, though places of great antiquity, as they made no considerable figure within the historical period of time, it would be of no manner of use to take any particular notice of them here.

Promontories of Etruria. The chief promontories of Etruria were those of Luna, Populonium, Telamon, and Cosa, which, from what has been already observed, are so well known, as not to stand in need of any description.

Mountains. Etruria was interspersed with several ridges of mountains, the chief of which were the Apennines. The valleys between these hills must have been extremely fertile and pleasant, as may be inferred from their present appearance. Mount Soracte, now Monte di S^t. Oresto; Mons Fæsulanus, taken notice of by [t] Orosius; Montes Cortonenses, that occur in [u] in Livy; and [w] Mons Ciminus, now Monte di

[n] Liv. lib. vi. cap. 3. [o] Vell. Paterc. lib. i. Tab. Capitol. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5. Jul. Frontin. de Colon. Roman. Fest. in voc. Municipium. [p] Dion. Halicar. lib. i. [q] Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 551. [r] Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. vii. cap. 7. [s] Liv. lib. ii. cap. 7. Vide Dempst. De Etrur. Regal. lib. iv. cap. 46. [t] P. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 37. [u] Liv. xxii. sub init. [w] Virg. Æn. lib. vii.

Viterbo; were alſo pretty much celebrated amongſt the ancients. Monte Argentaro is a rock of great height, projecting into the ſea in the form of a peninſula; and exactly anſwers the deſcription of the promontory of Coſa [x], given us by Strabo. There are likewiſe other mountains, or rocks, of an uncommon declivity, particularly that on which Volterra ſtands; but their names have not been tranſmitted down to us. However, it is probable that ſome of thoſe which at preſent prevail, are [y] of a very remote antiquity.

Rivers. The principal rivers of Etruria were the Macra, the Æſar, the Arnus, the Cecina, the Umbro, the Albinia, the Armine, Armenia, or Arminia, the Marta, and the Tiberis; now the Magra, the Serchio, the Arno, the Cecina, the Umbrone, the Albegna, the Fiore, the Marta, and the Tevere or Tiber. Theſe rivers had either their ſources in the Apennines, or ſome hills that might be conſidered as branches of that chain of mountains; and, after having received many ſmaller ones, diſcharged themſelves into the Etruſcan ſea. Thoſe of leſs note, mentioned by the ancients, were the Aventia, the Frigida, the Veſidia, the Lynceus Fluvius, the Salebro, the Alma, the Oſa, the Minio, the Aro, &c. now the Lavenza, the Frigida, the Verſiglia, the Cornia, the Bruna, the Oſa, the Mignone, the Arone, &c. To which we may add the Clanis, now the Chiana, that ran through the Palus Cluſina into the Tiber.

Lakes. This country likewiſe had ſeveral lakes, the chief of which were the following; 1. The Lacus Thraſymenus, now Il Lago di Perugia, famous for the ſignal defeat given the Romans in its neighbourhood by Hannibal. 2. The Lacus [z] Prilis, now Il Lago di Caſtiglione. 3. The Lacus [a] Vadimonis, now Il Lago di Valdemonio, and Il Lago di Baſſano. 4. The [b] Lacus Bacchani, now Il Lago di Baccano, in a plain about ſixteen miles from Rome. 5. The Lacus Ciminus, now Il Lago di Vico, or Il Lago di Ronciglione, where, according to Sotion, a town formerly ſtood, that was deſtroyed by an earthquake. 6. The Lacus Sabatius or Sabatinus, now Il Lago di Bracciano, was ſuppoſed likewiſe to have been formed by an earthquake, according to a tradition that prevailed amongſt the Tuſcans, in the days of [c] Sotion. At preſent it ſometimes goes under the name of Il Lago d' Anguillara, from the great number of eels there produced. 7. The [d] Lacus Volſinienſis or Vulſinienſis,

[x] Strab. lib. v. [y] Franciſc. Marian. de Etrur. Metrop. p. 166. Romæ, 1728. [z] Cic. in Orat. pro An. Mil. [a] Polyb. Liv. Sot. Senec. Plin. Flor. &c. [b] Antonin. Itiner. [c] Sotion ubi ſupra. [d] Columell. Ruſtic. Rer. lib. viii. cap. 16. Vitruv. lib. ii. cap. 7. Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 22. Liv. lib. xxvii. Strab. lib. v.

now

now Il Lago di Bolſena, received its name from the city of Volſinii, which has been already deſcribed. As this lake alſo bordered upon the lucumony of Tarquinii, [e] Pliny, in one place, calls it Lacus Tarquinienſis. 8. The Lacus [f] Statonienſis, ſo denominated from the town of Statonia, now Il Lago di Mezzano. Cluverius [g], with great probability, ſuppoſes Statonia to have been erected upon the ſpot whereon now ſtands the city of Caſtro. 9. The Palus Cluſina ſeems to have been denominated the Lake of Cluſium by Strabo; but as this, in conjunction with the Clanis, has been ranked amongſt the rivers of Etruria, it is ſufficient juſt to have mentioned it here.

Iſlands. The following iſlands having been taken particular notice of by the ancients, our readers will naturally expect a ſhort account of them in the preſent deſcription of Etruria. 1. Urgo or Orgon, the Gorgona of the moderns, a ſmall iſland in the gulf of Piſa, famous at this day for the great quantities of anchovies it ſends out every year into various parts of Europe. 2. The Mænaria, or Menaria of Pliny, now Meloria, at a ſmall diſtance from the town and port of Leghorn. 3. Capraria, Ægila or Ægilum, now Capraia, in the ſame parallel with the ancient Vetulonium, is known to every one in the leaſt acquainted with the Mediterranean. Varro call it [h] Capraſia, and intimates, that it was ſo denominated from the great number of goats it produced. 4. Æthalia [i] or Ilva, now Elba, was celebrated, amongſt the ancients for its inexhauſtible veins of iron [k], with which it plentifully ſupplied the Romans. The Argonauts are ſaid to have put in [l] here, and from them the port they touched at received the appellation of Portus Argous, now known by the name of Porto Ferraio. Ilva ſeems to have been an independent ſtate when Æneas landed in Italy, ſince it declared itſelf his ally, and ſent him a reinforcement of [m] three hundred men. 5. Planaſia, now Pianoſa, whither Auguſtus baniſhed Agrippa, mentioned by Strabo, Tacitus, and Dio. 6. The Oglaſa of Pliny, a high rock, the Monte Chriſto of the preſent Italians. 7. Igilium, now Giglio, a ſmall iſland near the Portus Coſanus, at preſent Porto Ercole. 8. Artemiſia or Artemita, now Giannuti, a little to the eaſt of Igilium, and in the neighbourhood likewiſe of the Portus Herculis. 9. The two iſlands in the Lacus Volſinienſis, the larger of which the Italians

[e] Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 22. [f] Vitruv. & Plin. ubi ſup. [g] Phil. Cluver. ubi ſup. p. 517. [h] Var. Ruſtic. Rer. lib. ii. [i] Hecatæus & Philiſtus apud Stephan. Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 14. [k] Virg. Æn. lib. x. Serv. in Loc. Sil. Ital. lib. viii. Strab. lib. v. [l] Diod. Sic. lib. iv. Strab. lib. v. [m] Virg. Æn. lib. x.

call the island of S. Giacomo. These are the islands that, according to the old geographers, appertained to the ancient Etruria.

Curiosities. Amongst the principal curiosities of this country may be ranked those that follow: 1. In the Lacus Vadimonis, Pliny says there was a number of floating islands. The learned Justus Fontaninus affirms [n], that the Lake of Bassano resembles a wheel; is every where smooth and regular; is of a deep bluish colour, with a mixture of white and green; has waters of a sulphureous smell, and mineral taste, &c. It is, however, now of a narrower extent than it seems to have formerly been. 2. The two floating islands in the Lacus Volsiniensis, taken notice of by Pliny, that bore some resemblance to those exhibited by the former lake. They were sometimes, according to that author, of a triangular, and sometimes of a circular form; but never assumed that of a square: but we apprehend our naturalist to have been mistaken in the point before us; and that the two islands he represents as floating, were, in reality, fixed and immoveable; for two such islands remain to this day in the lake of Bolsena, as is well known to every traveller who has made the tour of Italy. 3. The Aquæ Calidæ Pisanæ [o], or Hot Waters of Pisa; which, as may be inferred from Pliny, were remarkable for the great number of frogs they produced. 4. The Aquæ Tauri of Pliny [p], from whence the people inhabiting the neighbouring district received the denomination of Aquenses Taurini. These waters, at present, go under the name of Bagni de Palazzi, and are in the neighbourhood of Civita Vecchia. 5. The Thermæ Cæretanæ were some of the most celebrated baths in Etruria, according to Strabo [q]. These medicinal waters were the same with those now called Bagni del Sasso, about three miles from Cerveteri, as has been observed by the learned Lucas Holstenius. They issue from two fountains, about half a mile distant from each other: the upper one on a hill is called the Old Bath, and the lower, in a plain, the New Bath; and both of them are at present pretty famous amongst the Italians. 6. The Aquæ Calidæ of Vetulonium may likewise be esteemed among the principal curiosities of Etruria; since, if we believe Pliny, notwithstanding the intense heat of these waters, there were fishes found alive in them. 7. The veins of copper and iron in the isle of Ilva above mentioned. 8. The ruins

[n] Just. Fontanin. de Ant. Hort. lib. i. cap. 5. p. 104, 105. Romæ, 723. [o] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 103. [p] Dempst. de Etrur. regal. lib. i. cap. 23. [q] Strab. lib. v.

and

and foundations of two towns formerly visible in the Lacus Ciminus and Lacus Sabatius, according to the Italian, or rather Tuscan, tradition mentioned by Sotion [r]. 9. The violent shock and prodigious elevation of the water near Pisa, occasioned by the junction of the Æsar and the Arnus, as we learn from Aristotle and Strabo [s]. 10. The tower, or observatory, erected on the promontory of Cosa, from whence the inhabitants of that town could descry the tunny-fishes sporting in the sea. 11. The floating island in the Lacus Statoniensis [t], mentioned by Seneca. 12. The quarries near the Lacus Volsiniensis, and the Lacus Statoniensis, whose stone was neither to be injured by fire nor time, and which, therefore, frequently served for sepulchral monuments, as well as moulds for casting figures of brass. This stone, a species of the silex, was black, red, and sometimes white; and neither affected by heat nor cold. 13. The quarry of marble near Luna [u], which subsists to this day in that of Carrara. 14. The Vada Volaterrana [w], for a description of which, we must refer our readers to Cluverius. 15. The Salinæ, or Salt-pits of Volaterræ, Veii, &c. which certainly deserve a place in the natural history of ancient Etruria.

Situation, extent, climate, &c. of Etruria.

Etruria lies in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth degrees of longitude from London; and the forty-second, forty-third, and forty-fourth degrees of north latitude. In the maritime parts the air is extremely noxious, and even sometimes pestilential; though no part of Italy, nor even Europe, can be deemed more salubrious than the mountainous and mediterranean districts. Such, also, anciently, was the temperature of the air, and the nature of the climate, as appears from Pliny [x]. With regard to the quality of the soil, as this country was beautifully diversified with craggy hills, fruitful valleys, and delicious plains, some parts were barren, whilst others produced corn, wine, oil, fruits, &c. in abundance. The woods, likewise, or forests, with which this region abounded, were plentifully stocked with all sorts of game; as were the sea and rivers appertaining to it with fish. In fine, the tract we are now treating of has always, from the remotest antiquity to the present time, been productive, not only of the necessaries, but even the elegancies of life; with which observation we shall beg leave to close our description of Etruria.

[r] Sotion. ubi supra. [s] Aristot. de Mirab. Strabo, lib. v. [t] Senec. Nat. Quæst. lib. iii. cap. 25. [u] Strab. lib. v. Serv. ad Æn. viii. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 5. Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. iv. cap. 20. [w] Phil. Cluver. ubi supra, p. 461. [x] Plin. Epist. lib. v. ep. 6. & lib. ix. ep. 40. Vide Dempst. ubi sup. lib. i. cap. 13.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Language, and Learning of the Etruscans.

Etruscans a branch of the Pelasgi.

THE Tyrsenians, or Etruscans, were a branch of the Pelasgi, that migrated into Europe not many ages after the dispersion [y]. Some of them marched by land as far as Lydia [z], and from thence detached a colony under the conduct of Tyrsenus to Italy. Tyrsenus, having constructed a proper number of vessels at Smyrna, sailed from that port in search of new dominions; and, after sustaining various hardships and fatigues, at last made a descent in that part of Italy called Umbria. There he built many cities, which remained even to the days of Herodotus: he also expelled the Umbri from a very considerable extent of territory, and took from them three hundred towns [a]. This first colony of Tyrsenians, from Lydia, seems to have been joined by a body of Pelasgi already settled in some of the islands of the Archipelago; for that some of the Pelasgi, in the neighbourhood of Lemnus and Imbrus, sailed with Tyrsenus the son of Atys to Italy, we learn from Anticlides in Strabo.

Lydian and Grecian Pelasgi the same people.

If this last point be admitted, it will follow, that the Lydian Pelasgi, or Etruscans, conducted by Tyrsenus to Italy, and the first Pelasgi that inhabited Greece, were the same people: for the Pelasgi, mentioned by Anticlides, were undoubtedly some of the latter; and from the name Tyrsenians, given them by Thucydides [b], they appear to have been of the same origin with the former. Dionysius Halicarnassensis makes the Tyrsenians and Pelasgi two different nations.

Etruscans called themselves Raseni.

The Etruscans, from their leader Rasen, or Resen, denominated themselves Raseni; and Tyrsenus, or Tyrsen, is only the name Resen, with the servile letter T superadded. This circumstance seems clearly to evince, not only that the Etruscan name of the people under consideration agreed with that of the Greeks, but likewise that they were both of Oriental extraction [c].

Pelasgi one of the most ancient nations in the world.

The Pelasgi must be allowed to have been one of the most ancient nations in the world, and, as appears from their colonies, in the earliest times, very numerous and powerful. With regard to their origin, the learned are not

y Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. z Herodot. lib. i.
a Plin. lib. iii. cap. 14. b Thucyd. apud Dion. Halic. lib. i.
c Cumberl. Connect. of the Greek and Roman Antiq. p. 318.

agreed.

agreed. Some make them the descendents of Peleg, or Phaleg [d], who have very probable arguments on their side; others deduce them from the ancient Canaanites and Phœnicians [e], who have likewise much to urge in vindication of their opinion; and, lastly, others suppose them to have been of a Celtic original, an opinion which seems to be more remote from truth. However, that some of the posterity of Javan seated themselves, not many ages after the deluge, both in Italy and Greece, we think cannot be denied.

Etymons of the words Raseni, Tyrseni, Etrusci, &c.

The reason of the name Raseni, Tyrseni, or Tyrrheni, from what has been already advanced, is obvious and clear; nor is that of Etruri, or Etrusci, very perplexed. That Etruri, and even Eturi, was the ancient name of the Etruscans, may be collected from Servius. That the Etruscans likewise derived the appellation they went under from Athuria, or Aturia, that of their parental country, may be proved from Dionysius Halicarnassensis [f], Strabo, and Dio. Now Aturia and Assyria differ only in dialect, the former being equivalent to the Chaldean word אתוריא, and the latter to the Hebrew אשור, as may be evinced from Bochart [g], and others. Since, therefore, nothing is more frequent than the permutation of A and E in Oriental words [h], especially when written in Greek letters, Atura and Etura must be looked upon as the same word, and as the ancient name of Etruria [i]. Nor can this be wondered at, if we consider that Resen [k] was a city of Aturia or Assyria, from whence, probably, the leader of the Etrurian, or Etruscan colony was denominated Raseni, or Reseni; and that, from the sacred historian, we may conclude Ashur to have been the brother of Lud, or great ancestor of the Lydians.

Etymon of the word Tusci.

The word Tusci, or Thusci [l], is of a later date, and seems to have been given the Etruscans by the Greeks. The sacrifices, or use of frankincense, that prevailed amongst the Tuscans in after-ages, probably suggested this appellation to that people.

After the expulsion of the Pelasgi from Thessaly, or Æmonia, by the Hellens, many of them retired to Italy. Some of these seated themselves at one of the mouths of

[d] Hugo Grot. in lib. de Jur. Bell. &c. cap. 3. Claud. Salmas. de Hellen. Stillingfl. Orig. Sacr. lib iii. cap. 4. p. 388, 389, &c. Cant. 1702. [e] Scip. Maff Orig. Etrusc. & Latin. cap. 5—8. Lips. 1731. Anton. Francisc. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. Dissert. i. [f] Dion. Halicarnas lib. i. Strabo, lib. xvi. [g] Bochart, Phal. lib. ii. cap. 3. Joannes Antiochenus apud Cl. Salmas. in Solin. p. 1235. [h] Steph. in voc. Academia. [i] Franc. Marian. ubi supra, p. 12, 13. [k] Gen. x. 12. [l] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5.

the

the Po, and the reſt at Croton, or Cortona, in Tuſcany. This migration happened in the time of Deucalion, ſeveral ages before the deſtruction of Troy. For a farther account of this tranſaction, our readers may conſult Hellanicus Leſbius, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis [m].

Government. Etruria was divided into twelve tribes, or cantons, called in the Tuſcan language lucumonies. Each of theſe was governed by its own prince or lucumo, and over the whole a king preſided [n]. Every lucumo took upon himſelf the adminiſtration of affairs in his own province, and diſtributed juſtice to his ſubjects. The king, or chief potentate, was conſulted on all extraordinary occaſions, and convened the general diet of the twelve nations on all preſſing emergencies. This diet was held at the temple of Voltumna [o], where meaſures were concerted for making war upon, or concluding peace with their neighbours. That the power of every lucumo was limited, muſt be naturally ſuppoſed; but the Etruſcan kings ſeem to have been veſted with a ſort of abſolute authority, conſonant to the firſt Oriental form of government.

Laws. Some of the principal Tuſcan laws we ſhall exhibit in a conciſe manner: 1. By the original conſtitution of Etruria [p], no ſingle ſtate or lucumony could enter upon a war, or conclude a peace, with any neighbouring power, without the participation of the whole Etruſcan body. 2. The Etruſcans, by a particular law [q], admitted their women to all nocturnal entertainments; in which they were afterwards followed by the Romans. 3. They obliged themſelves to treat all foreigners with the utmoſt humanity [r]. 4. They gave all poſſible encouragement, and that, as ſhould ſeem, by virtue of their conſtitution, to all polite arts and artificers. 5. In order to deter people from contracting larger debts than they were able to pay, the Tuſcan boys, by way of ridicule, followed all inſolvent debtors with an empty purſe [s]. 6. They muſt have had many good moral inſtitutions, ſince from them the Romans received a ſupplement to their Twelve Tables. 7. The jura fecialia were firſt obſerved by the Etruſcans. 8. The Etruſcan polity, in general, ſeems to have been founded upon maxims of the moſt conſummate wiſdom, as may be collected from

[m] Hellan. Leſbius apud Dionyſ. Halicar. lib. i. [n] Serv. ad Æn. lib. ii. viii. x. xi. Varro apud Serv. ibid. Vide Philip. Cluver. ubi ſupra, p. 434. [o] Liv. lib. iv. [p] Dion. Halic. paſſ. [q] Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. i. p. 23. [r] Heracl. Ponticus apud Athen. Deipnoſoph. ut & ipſe Athen. ibid. lib. iii. p. 123, & lib. x. p. 700. [s] Heracl. Ponticus ubi ſup. Vide etiam Dempſt. ubi ſup. cap. 25.

Ariſtotle,

Ariſtotle [t], and Heraclides Ponticus in Athenæus, to whom, for farther ſatisfaction in this point, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive readers.

The religion of the Etruſcans was a groſs and multifarious idolatry. They worſhipped, in common with the ancient Greeks and Phœnicians, the Cabiri, or Dii magni majorum gentium. They were alſo initiated in the Samothracian or Cabirian myſteries, as appears not only from various authors, but likewiſe from a curious Etruſcan fragment of antiquity. Beſides the Greek and Roman deities, they had ſeveral peculiar to themſelves; ſome of which were confined to particular towns and diſtricts. Thus Nortia was a goddeſs held in the higheſt veneration at Vulſinii and Volaterræ; Viridianus, at Narnia; Valentia, at Ocriculum, &c. Vertumnus, Volumnus, Volumna, Voltumna, Pilumnus, or Picumnus, Ancharia, Volturnus, Juturna, Portumnus, Vitumnus, Manturna, Vacuna, &c. were ſome of the principal Etruſcan deities. The ancient Tuſcans had likewiſe their Dii Præſtites, and Indigetes, as well as the Latins, and other Italian nations. *Religion.*

Under this head may be conſidered the divine ſervice, ſacred myſteries, holy-days, ſolemn proceſſions, and ſupplications in honour of the gods; as alſo the ſacred rites and ceremonies, the miniſtri ſacrorum, pontifices, ſacerdotes, ſalii, augures, haruſpices, vates, and hymnologi, of the Etruſcans. To which may be added the tibicines, fidicines, and other perſons who aſſiſted in the divine muſic on all ſolemn occaſions; as alſo peculiar ſacrifices, the various kinds of luſtrations, donaria, temples, altars, auſpices, auguries, expiations of thunder, and oſtenta [u]. A minute deſcription of every one of theſe would extend beyond our limits: however, for the better illuſtration of ſeveral paſſages in the Greek and Roman writers, relating to the ancient Tuſcans, our readers will expect us to touch upon them; which we ſhall do in the lighteſt manner poſſible.

1. The divine ſervice and ſacred myſteries of the old Etruſcans agreed, in ſeveral points, with thoſe of the Greeks; but, in others, differed from them. Theſe they communicated to the Romans, long before that nation had any intercourſe with the Greeks. Notwithſtanding which, ſeveral Etruſcan myſteries were celebrated with ſo much ſecrecy, that they ſeem to have been but little known, even to the generality of the Romans. The principal of theſe were the Sacra Samothracia, or Cabiria, the Sacra Mi-

t Ariſtot. & Heracl. Pont. apud Athen. Deipnoſoph. ubi ſupra.
u Idem ibid. & alibi paſſ.

thriaca, and the Sacra Acherontica. By an initiation in the Sacra Cabiria, the ancients believed men to become more holy, juſt, and pure; to be placed under the more immediate protection of the gods, eſpecially the Dii Cabiri; and to be delivered from all impending dangers. The Sacra Mithriaca, inſtituted in honour of the Sun, a moſt celebrated deity amongſt the Etruſcans, required the perſons initiated in them not only to be baptized, or purified by water, but likewiſe to be purged or refined by fire. The Sacra Acherontica were introduced firſt into Etruria by Tages, in order to appeaſe the Dii Inferi, or infernal deities, to render departed ſouls more divine, and, conſequently, to tranſlate them from the infernal regions to the manſions of bliſs. In order to which, it was thought requiſite to ſprinkle the altars and ſepulchres of the Dii Manes with human blood: but for a more particular and diſtinct account of all theſe religious myſteries, and the ſervice and ceremonies judged neceſſary, in order to a participation of the benefits ſuppoſed to flow from them, our readers muſt have recourſe to the authors here cited in the margin [w].

2. As the Romans, before they became acquainted with the Greeks, received every thing relating to religion, and even their calendar itſelf, from the Etruſcans, the feſtivals, holy-days, and ſtated times of public worſhip of the two nations muſt have agreed in moſt particulars. To omit many authors that might be produced on this occaſion, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that a bare ſight of the ancient Roman calendar, wherein many of the principal Etruſcan deities, and their feſtivals, are exhibited to our view, puts the point here inſiſted on beyond diſpute.

3. The Etruſcans borrowed of the Egyptians, or rather the Phœnician ſhepherds expelled Egypt, their public ſupplications, pomps, and ſolemn proceſſions, which happened on ſome of their principal feſtivals. They ſuppoſed the gods more particularly honoured to be always preſent at ſuch ſolemnities. Which notion they likewiſe received from the Egyptians, or, at leaſt, the Phœnician ſhepherds above mentioned.

4. The rites and ceremonies uſed by the haruſpices, augurs, and pontifices at Rome, were derived from the Etruſcans, who ſeem to have been the moſt celebrated nation in the Pagan world for ſkill in augury and divination, as well as knowlege of the nature of ſacrifices, to all which

[w] Cic. Dion. Halic. Liv. Virg. Strab. Feſt. Serv. &c. Vide etiam Dempſt. de Etrur. Regal. Franc. Marian. de Etrur. Metrop. Scip. Maff. Orig. Etruſ. & Latin. Anton. Franc. Gor. Muſ. Etruſc. paſſ.

rites

rites and ceremonies necessarily relate; at least they had this character amongst the Romans, as appears from Cicero and Livy [x]. It is no wonder, therefore, that the branch of literature, including every thing appertaining to the provinces of the augurs, haruspices, pontifices, salii, sacerdotes, vates, and hymnologi, should have been emphatically styled at Rome [y], Ars Etrusca, and Disciplina Etrusca. Hence we find Etruria called, by Arnobius, the Mother of Superstition.

5. As for all the aforesaid sacred officers, their habits, instruments, &c. the tibicines, fidicines, and other persons who assisted in the divine music on all solemn occasions, the work of father Gori [z] gives us a clear idea of them. Those, therefore, who desire to be farther instructed in this part of the Etruscan antiquities, will peruse it with great pleasure.

6. The same thing may be said of the Etruscan temples, donaria, peculiar sacrifices, various kinds of lustrations, prodigies, altars, and expiations, which are there treated of with great accuracy and learning.

In many points, the learned have discovered no small affinity between the ancient Etruscans and the Egyptians; and, perhaps, they resembled each other in nothing more than their religious institutions; particularly their sacrifices, and manner of public worship.

That the Phœnicians, and neighbouring nations, were much addicted to augury and divination, may be collected from Scripture: it is no wonder, therefore, that their descendents, the Etruscans, should have discovered the same disposition. Their writers pretend, that Tages, whom some have taken for a god, others for a man, but Tully scarce knows in what light to consider him, was the inventor of every thing relating to augury and divination. To him, likewise, the Etruscans owed their Acherontian books, which were kept with as much care and vigilance, and held in as great repute, by them, as those of the Sibyls were at Rome. These they consulted on all dubious occasions, and looked upon the responses they received from them as infallible. Tages taught the Etruscans many useful arts and disciplines, as well as the knowlege of future events [a].

Neither the Etruscans nor the Romans had any magnificent temples in the earlier ages [b]. The Etruscans adorned

[x] Liv. lib. iv. Cic. de Divinat lib. i. [y] Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. iii. cap. 6. p. 255, 256. [z] Anton. Franc. Gor. Muf. Etrusc. Flor. 1737. [a] Serv. in Æn. lib. viii. v. 398. Anton. Franc. Gor. ubi sup. p. 43—49. [b] Phil. Bonarrot. ubi sup. p. 77.

the

the images of their gods with wings, in the ſame manner as the Egyptians, and even the Phœnicians, according to Sanchoniatho [c]. The Etruſcan images, ſtatues, and vaſes, diſcover a taſte and elegance different from thoſe of all other nations, though they ſometimes ſeem to ſavour of Egypt and Phœnicia. It is certain that the Etruſcan artificers had a manner very different from thoſe of Greece and Rome, as is fully demonſtrated by many Etruſcan images and vaſes ſtill preſerved in the cabinets of the curious [d].

The Etruſcans had ſome particularities in their religion, which diſtinguiſhed it from that of every other nation; of which the various deities peculiar to them, the Tuſcan names of thoſe deities, the monſter Volta, &c. are ſufficient proofs. But the ancient Egyptian and Phœnician modes of worſhip were the ſame with thoſe, for many of the earlieſt ages, uſed in Etruria: or can any material difference be found between the oldeſt Oriental and Etruſcan divinities.

Language. The Etruſcan language muſt have been the ſame, or nearly ſo, with the Hebrew and Phœnician. For, whether we conſider them as deſcended from Aſhur, Peleg, the Egyptians, Phœnicians, or even Celtes, and from ſome of theſe they undoubtedly deſcended, their language muſt have been either the ſame with the Hebrew and Phœnician, or nearly related to them. From what has been advanced, the firſt Pelaſgic ſettlements in Etruria could not have been many centuries after the deluge, and very few after the diſperſion; and at that time the languages, or rather dialects, of the Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Celtes, Syrians, and Arabs, muſt have approached extremely near to the Hebrew and Phœnician, which the learned allow to have been almoſt the ſame. With regard to the Canaanites or Phœnicians migrating into Etruria, after the firſt colonies of the Pelaſgi or Tyrſenians ſettled there, it cannot be denied, that their language had received but little alteration from the primitive Hebrew. So that both ſacred and profane hiſtory concur in ſhewing the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Etruſcan tongues to have been, in the earlier ages, nearly the ſame [e].

This truth likewiſe farther appears from the letters and manner of writing anciently uſed in Etruria. The [f] letters are almoſt the ſame with thoſe of the earlieſt Greeks, brought by Cadmus out of Phœnicia. The manner of writing

[c] Sanchoniath. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. cap. 10. [d] Dempſt. Maff. & Gor. paſſ. [e] Diſſert. de Ling. Etrur. Regal. Vernac. Oxon. 1738. [f] Dempſt. Bonarrot. Maff. Gor. paſſ.

writing is purely Oriental, the letters being drawn from the right hand to the left, consonant to the practice of the eastern nations. The former point is rendered indisputably clear by the Eugubian [g] tables, in conjunction with the Sigean inscription, and the latter by a bare perusal of the generality of the Etruscan [h] inscriptions. The very remote antiquity of the first colonies that settled in Etruria, as well as of the Etruscan language and alphabet, may be easily inferred from these inscriptions; for as the Pelasgic alphabet, that prevailed in [i] Greece before the age of Deucalion, consisted of sixteen letters, the Etruscan or Pelasgic alphabet, first brought into Italy, composed of [k] only thirteen letters, must have preceded the reign of that prince. But we shall not expatiate upon this topic here, since the high, not to say almost incredible, antiquity of the Etruscan language and alphabet, has been clearly evinced in two dissertations printed at Oxford in the year 1746.

Father Gori in his Museum Etruscum, published at Florence in 1737, endeavours to give us the powers of all the Etruscan letters. M. Bourguet, professor of philosophy in the university of Neufchatel, did the same thing in a dissertation inscribed to count Harrach, in 1733. But the foundation on which both these gentlemen built, seems to have been laid by the senator Buonarota of Florence, in 1726. It seldom happens, that men of genius bring their discoveries to perfection; and therefore we are not to be surprised, that many mistakes have been committed by this triumvirate. In fine, we apprehend the Etruscan alphabet drawn by Mr. Swinton from a great number of inscriptions, which first saw the light some years ago at Oxford, is much more perfect and complete than any that has hitherto appeared.

We cannot help believing the alphabetic characters, exhibited by some of the Etruscan inscriptions, to be the most ancient of any now remaining. No Phoenician legends on coins, if we remember right, precede the time of Alexander the Great. All the genuine Samaritan coins, with legends upon them, are undoubtedly posterior to that prince. The Sigean inscription, whose letters, probably, approached pretty near the Cadmean alphabet, did not precede the

[g] Tab. Eugubin. apud Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. tom. i. p. 91. Florentiæ, 1723. Inscrip. Sig. Lond. 1721. [h] Saggi di Dissertazioni Accademiche publicamente Lette nella Nobile Accademia Etrusca dell' Antichissima Città di Cortona. tom. ii. in Roma, 1735, 1738. [i] J. Bouhier Dissert. de Prisc. Græc. & Latin. Lit. ad Calc. Palæograph. D. Bern. de Montfaucon. [k] Dissert. de Primig. Etrusc. Alphabet. Oxon. 1746.

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Chriſtian æra above ſix hundred years. M. l'Abbé de Fourmont's Lacedæmonian inſcriptions, coeval with the commencement of the firſt Meſſenian war, publiſhed in the laſt volume of the Memoires de Literature de l'Academie Royale des Inſcriptions & Belles Lettres, are drawn from the left hand to the right, and conſequently later than the alphabet brought into Etruria out of Aſia. The inſcription copied by M. Fourmont, done in the reign of Sous and Echeſtratus, and, conſequently, ſcarce a hundred and ſixty, or a hundred and ſeventy years later than the Trojan war, is written in the Bouſtrophedon manner; and, therefore, as may reaſonably be preſumed, more recent than ſome of the Etruſcan inſcriptions. So that ſeveral of the literary monuments of Etruria may vie, for antiquity, with any at this time extant, not excepting even thoſe of Egypt, which have been hitherto conſidered as the moſt ancient in the world.

The letters we are now upon were, undoubtedly, the firſt alphabetic characters of Italy. Nay, they prevailed at Rome [l], and every part of Italy, till after the expulſions of the kings. This has been fully proved in one of the above-mentioned diſſertations, and, from it, many curious points are deducible. To omit others that occur, from hence it plainly follows, that thoſe inſcriptions on the Eugubian tables, conſiſting of Latin letters, or the more modern characters of Italy, are more recent than their regifuge. Nay, in one of the aforeſaid diſſertations, they have been demonſtrated inferior, in point of antiquity, to the Duilian inſcription; and conſequently father Gori [m] muſt be egregiouſly miſtaken, when he makes all the inſcriptions on thoſe tables ſome generations older than the Trojan war.

So great an affinity will be found between the ſepulchral Etruſcan inſcriptions, that, when one of them is truly decyphered, it will ſerve as a key to moſt of the reſt. As, therefore in one of the above mentioned diſſertations, Mr. Swinton [n] ſeems to have hit upon the explication of two of them, we doubt not but the others will be interpreted; and all the literary fragments of ancient Etruria, that have eſcaped the injuries of time, be perfectly underſtood by every member of the learned world.

The Etruſcan inſcriptions, of which a great variety has been already diſcovered, are of different ages, and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to ſavour equally of the Eaſt. They ap-

[l] De Priſc. Roman. Lit. Diſſert. Oxon. 1746. [m] Anton. Franc. Gor. Proleg. ad Interp. Etruſc. Tab. Eugubin. Florentiæ, 1737 [n] Joan. Swint. de Prim. Etruſc. Alphab. Diſſert. Oxon. 1746.

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proach nearer the Oriental languages, in proportion to their antiquity. Some of them consist chiefly of words apparently deducible from those languages, and therefore were the produce of the earlier ages. Others indicate a lower period; by the Greek words incorporated in them. And, lastly, others demonstrate an age not preceding the sixth century of Rome, by several infallible criterions, as will very clearly appear to every sagacious examiner of them. However, the Etruscan alphabet was used in some parts of Italy, and the Etruscan language spoken, till, at least, very near the Augustan age. This circumstance we learn from the express testimony of Gellius [o] and Strabo, and from two Sannite medals, whose Etruscan legends have been lately explained by a [p] most ingenious Italian author.

The Etruscans were extremely well versed in all the arts of war and peace, as may be collected from an infinity of ancient authors. Nay, from them the Romans learned those arts and sciences that paved the way to the empire of the world. The best writers agree, that these arts and sciences were most conspicuous in Rome, before its citizens had any intercourse with the Greeks. Luxury, effeminacy, and the indulgence of many criminal passions, succeeded that intercourse; which indeed rendered the Romans more polite, but at the same time more vicious, than their ancestors. Of course, therefore, in the best ages of Rome the Romans imitated the Etruscans. However, it must be owned, that in after-ages the Etruscans became thoroughly debauched both in principle and practice. *Arts, &c.*

Augury, and divination of all kinds, observations of thunders and prodigies, and expiations, several of the ancients supposed to have been invented by Tages. His scholar Bacchetis likewise excelled in these; and committed all the rules, precepts, and observations relating to them to writing. The Libri Acherontici of Tages, as well as the observations of Bacchetis, were held in great repute amongst the Etruscans, who formed their system of augury and divination upon them. This system, the articles of which we have not room to expatiate upon, passed from the Etruscans to the Romans. The same may be said of ceremonies, the parentalia, salii sacerdotes, Samothracian mysteries, and all the principal religious institutions. Temples likewise, statues of the gods and heroes, the manner of building cities and raising them, pomœria, the æras of cities, their walls and

[o] Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. xi. cap. 7. Strab. lib. v. [p] Dissertazione di Annibale degl' Abbati Olivieri sopra due medaglie Sannitiche, in Roma, 1738.

fortifications, consecrations, and nuptial rites, amongst the Romans, were derived from the same source[q].

The ensigns of royalty, distinction of nobles from plebeians, the bulla prætexta, and other marks of such distinction, the celeres, securcs and fasces, the lictors, sella curulis, and, in fine, almost every thing that bore any relation to the civil governmsnt at Rome, has been considered by the best writers in the same light.

Rings of all kinds, arms, instruments of military music, every species of accoutrements and military decorations, trophies, triumphs, triumphal chariots, triumphal crowns, feciales or heralds, form of declaring war, and, in short, every thing of moment belonging to the art of war, or military exercises, that prevailed at Rome, undoubtedly came from Etruria.

Money, locks and keys, lamps, candlesticks, glasses and cups, or drinking vessels of most kinds, banquets and entertainments, as well as the laws or customs appertaining to them, not to mention other social amusements and recreations, some good writers suppose the earlier Romans to have received from the ancient inhabitants of Tuscany[r].

Agriculture, planting of vines, all kinds of instruments requisite in husbandry, mills, architecture, particularly that order called the Tuscan, music, and a great variety of musical instruments, many sorts of plays and diversions, especially tragedies, various kinds of garments, and even the rudiments of physic, seem to have been introduced into Italy by the Etruscans.

Senical diversions, masks, pantomimes, the schools of gesticulators, bigæ and quadrigæ, wrestlers, and the custom of anointing their bodies, the use of wool, plastic statuary, the fabulæ Oscæ, or Atellanæ, nuptial verses, or versus Fescennini, and the art of making earthen ware, the Romans owed to the Etruscans.

The art of constructing ships, and navigating them, which, from small beginnings arrived at a great degree of perfection, the various branches of naval exercise and discipline, the method of equipping fleets, the forming of magazines, and all kinds of armaments, even the fitting out of corsairs, the Etruscans seem to have been acquainted with before the birth of Romulus[s].

This nation, therefore, must have been a maritime power, and consequently have enjoyed an extensive commerce in the earlier ages of the world.

q Dempst. Maff. Marian. Gor. pass. r Idem, ibid. s Liv. lib. v. cap. 33.

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We have already obferved, that the Etrufcans were once in poffeffion of all, or, the greateft part of Italy. Some of their colonies fpread themfelves over the Alps, and even occupied the region known afterwards by the name of Rhætia, but called now the country of the Grifons. That the Etrufcans were a very formidable power in the remoter ages of antiquity, may be clearly evinced from [t] Homer, Herodotus, Heraclides, Ariftides, and Diodorus Siculus. Nay, this laft tells us in plain terms, that they were lords of the fea; and Ariftides afferts the Indians to have been the moft powerful nation in the Eaft, as the Etrufcans were in the Weft. But then this was in very remote times, even when Bacchus, that early conqueror, afpired almoft to univerfal monarchy; for, afterwards, to the commencement of the Roman grandeur, they gradually declined. *Power.*

Augury, and divination of all kinds, the anceftors of the Tufcans feem to have brought out of the [u] Eaft. The augural difcipline had [w] for its object both the celeftial and terreftrial globes; and, in order to facilitate the augural operations, the heavens were divided into fixteen parts. Several fmall images or ftatues of Tages with the [x] augural fymbols have been difcovered of late years in Tufcany, as appears from Giufto Fontanini, father Gori, and others. We find feveral particulars in Cicero and Pliny, not to mention other authors, relating to the Etrufcan augury and divination [y].

With regard to the theological notions of the Etrufcans, they believed one fupreme Being, whom they called Juve, or Jove. They confidered him as the great governor of the univerfe, as the principle of life and motion. The immortality of the foul they were firmly perfuaded of; and therefore believed a future ftate of rewards and punifhments; though, in later times, they feem to have followed the fyftem of Pythagoras, and confequently to have adopted the metempfychofis of that philofopher. However, the generality of the Tufcans adhered to the Sabian fuperftition, as did moft of the inhabitants of the Eaft.

As the Etrufcans feem to have been followers [z] of Pythagoras, they, undoubtedly, muft be fuppofed to have

[t] Hom. apud Herodot. & in Odyff. Herodot. in lib. de Vit. Homer. Heracl. περὶ τῶν πολιτειων. Diod. Sic. lib. v. Ariftid. Orat. in Bacch. Dict. [u] Scip. Maff. Orig. Etrufc. cap. v. p. 19, 20, 21. Lipfiæ, 1731. [w] Anton. Franc. Gor. Muf. Etrufc. claf. i. p. 45. [x] Juft. Font. de Antiquit. Hort. p. 146. Romæ, 1723. Phil. Bonar. ad Monument. Etrufc. Oper. Dempft. eddit. Explicat. & Conject. p. 23. [y] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 52, 53. & alibi. [z] Senec. Nat. Quæft. lib. ii. cap. 45, 46. Vide etiam Tab. Eugubin. paff.

cultivated, with great ardour, the principles of the Italic[a] philosophy. Pythagoras himself was an improver, but not the founder, of that philosophy. Music they considered[b] as a divine art, and seem to have been greatly delighted with it. They were likewise famous for their curious[c] researches into the productions, operations, and phænomena of nature, and consequently well versed in natural philosophy and[d] astronomy. They were also acquainted with poetry, frequently celebrating the praises of their gods, and relating the great atchievements of their heroes, as well as describing the arcana of astronomy, and philosophy, in verse. Tragedy, in particular[e], owed its birth to this nation; or, at least, they first communicated it to the Romans. Varro mentions one Volumnius,[e] whom he represents as a famous writer of tragedies in the Tuscan language. Nay, the people we are considering, had a peculiar taste for all kinds of theatrical representations, as may be inferred from several authors[f]. The first actors, who appeared upon the stage at Rome, were sent for from Etruria.

It cannot be conceived, that the followers and disciples of Pythagoras were ignorant of geometry. The shining figure that philosopher made[g] in the mathematical world, will not admit of such a supposition. Nor can it be imagined, that any people tolerably versed in astronomy and astrology, as the Tuscans are allowed to have been, should be totally unacquainted with the elements of geometry. We may therefore conclude, from what has been already observed of the Etruscan literature, that the ancient Tuscans were no strangers to geometry, nor indeed to any of the mathematical sciences.

Military learning they were famous for[h], especially that branch relating to the drawing up an army in battalia, and making the proper dispositions for an engagement. That the formation of the phalanx[i], and manner of fighting consequent thereupon, was invented by the Etruscans, at least borrowed of them by the Romans, we learn from Athenæus.

That history was cultivated in Etruria, we have no reason to doubt. The very genius of the Tuscan nation evinces

[a] Anton. Franc. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. tom. ii. Dissert. i. xxviii. [b] Strab. lib. x. [c] Diod. Sic. lib. v. p. 219. [d] Plin. lib. i. cap. 52, 53, 54. [e] Tertul. de Spectac. Var. de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. Liv. lib. vii. sub init. [f] Liv. ubi supra, Gor. ubi supra, p. 391. Vide & Tab. apud Dempster. lxxiii. Tab. apud Gor. clxxxvi. clxxxvii. clxxxviii. &c. [g] Tertul. de Anim. lib. xi. Dempst. de Etrur. Regal. lib. iii. c. 44, 45. [h] Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. iv. [i] Nicias apud Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. vi.

this,

this, as well as feveral hints that have been given us by the ancients. Suidas mentions [k] a Tufcan hiftorian, who treated largely of God, and of the creation of the world completed in fix days by him. Cenforinus [l], from Varro, cites fome Etrufcan hiftories, which defcribed the feveral ages of the Etrufcan empire, and predicted its deftruction. Laftly Cincius [m], an author quoted by Livy with great marks of approbation, feems to have confulted the hiftorical monuments of Etruria, as may be inferred from the exprefs words of that excellent hiftorian.

In fine, the Etrufcan literature, politenefs, and genius, will moft clearly appear from the following obfervations: 1. The Greeks themfelves received feveral ceremonies and religious inftitutions from the Etrufcans. 2. The Romans were obliged to the fame nation for moft of their religious inftitutions. 3. Romulus was inftructed in fome important points by the Etrufcans. 4. The Romans, in the earlier ages, fent their children, to be liberally educated, into Etruria. 5. Six of the moft noble Roman youths were fent to as many ftates in Etruria, in the more remote ages of Rome, to be inftructed in religious matters. 6. Diodorus Siculus reprefents Etruria as the fource of learning and philofophy. 7. Pythagoras himfelf, that prodigy of learning, was an Etrufcan. 8. In every thing relating to the military art, both by fea and land, the Etrufcans, at firft, excelled all other European nations. 9. This nation fhone in almoft all arts and fciences, according to Heraclides Ponticus. 10. The Tufcan mechanics and artificers were in high repute amongft the Greeks. 11. When Tarquin refolved to build a temple for Jupiter Tarpeius, he fent to Etruria, not Greece, for workmen. 12. Atria, or courts, were originally owing to the Tufcans. 13. The Doric epiftylium, at firft, likewife, proceeded from that people. 14. The moft grand and fuperb amphitheatres in the world were thofe of the Tufcans. 15. The Etrufcans had brought painting to great perfection before the birth of Romulus. 16. The celebrated ftatue of Jupiter Capitolinus was made by a Tufcan ftatuary 17. The colours on many Etrufcan vafes, lately difcovered, appear as frefh and recent as if done not many years ago. 18. Tertullian deduces plays and theatrical reprefentations from Etruria. 19. Horfe-races and gladiators paffed to Rome from Etruria [n], according to Tacitus and Athenæus. 20. The golden crown ufed in tri-

[k] Suid. in voc. Τυῤῥηνία. [l] Var. apud Cenforin. de Die Natal. [m] Cinc. Aliment. apud Liv. lib. vii. fub init. [n] Tacit. Ann. lib. xiv. cap. 21. Athen Deipnofph. lib. iv.

umphs [o] had likewise the same origin. 21. The vast extent of the Tuscan dominions, the great atchievements of the Etruscans, the glory they acquired by their numerous discoveries and inventions, their very remote antiquity, their stupendous wealth and power, their writers and learned men, and lastly, the excellent form of government prevailing in Etruria, all which are attested by many reputable authors, rendered the ancient Tuscans as celebrated a nation as almost any that made a figure in profane history during the mythic period of time.

SECT. III.

The History of the Etruscans, to the Conquest of their Country by the Romans.

Several eastern colonies settle in Etruria not many centuries after the deluge.

THE Asiatic colonies who settled in Etruria not many centuries after the deluge, were probably followed by others at different periods of time. Assyria, Egypt, Phœnicia, Lydia, and other countries, in all likelihood contributed to people Italy, which was anciently subject to the Etruscans. Some of the posterity of Javan, likewise, undoubtedly seated themselves here, not long after the dispersion, which happened in the days of Peleg. Perhaps, the leader of the sons of Javan was the Janus of the Latins, who seems to have been the first king of Etruria, and the most ancient of the Italian deities. As Javan, in the original, is יון, which may be read *Jon*, and *us* in Janus is a Roman termination, such a supposition may be easily admitted from the affinity of names. It has also other proofs to support it. For Elisha and Kittim, Javan's sons, or at least some of their posterity, have left footsteps of their settlement here; and that the isles of the Gentiles, that is, Greece, including the isles of the Archipelago, as is generally allowed, in the neighbourhood of Italy, received some of Javan's sons, we find asserted by the sacred historian. Javan himself might come to Italy, immediately out of the East, and send a considerable part of his family to Greece, and the above islands. Be this as it may, Janus fixed monarchical government in Etruria [p], and was in after-ages deified there for being a singular benefactor to his subjects [q]. He was supposed by some of the ancients to have

[o] Tertull de Coron. Milit. cap. 3. [p] Arnob. cont. Gent. lib. iii. Dempst. ubi supra, lib. iii. cap 20. p. 298, 299. [q] Cat. de Re Rust. cap. 134, 141, &c. Xenon. Rer. Ital. lib. 1. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Fest. in voc. Chaos.

have erected a town or caſtle on one of the ſeven hills of Rome, from him called Janiculum, and there to have held his reſidence [r]. Theſe writers repreſent him as having firſt inſpired the Etruſcans [s] with proper ſentiments of religion. He was alſo, according to them, the inventor of agriculture, and firſt taught the people of Italy the uſe of wine: but the laſt event proved fatal to him; for, after he had civilized his ſubjects, he was deſtroyed by a body of them intoxicated with wine, who imagined themſelves poiſoned by him. Numa Pompilius paid a great regard to his civil and religious inſtitutions, and from him denominated the firſt month of the year Januarius. As he firſt introduced money into Italy, and came thither from Aſia in a ſhip, ſome of the moſt ancient pieces ſtruck in Etruria, Latium, and Rome, alluded to both thoſe events. The faces exhibited the double head of Janus, and the reverſes a ſort of ſhip.

The Etruſcans deſcended from Mizraim.

That the Etruſcans, or Pelaſgi, were deſcended from the Curetes, we learn from Valerius Maximus [t]. Now the Curetes, Cretans, Crethites, or Cerethites, and Philiſtines, were undoubtedly the ſame people: of courſe, therefore, the Cretans, Cerethites, or Crethites, Philiſtines, Pelaſgi, and Etruſcans, or at leaſt ſome part of theſe laſt, as being the progeny of Mizraim, muſt have had Ham for their common progenitor. In this particular they agreed with the Canaanites or Phœnicians, part of whoſe country the Philiſtines poſſeſſed for ſo many ages. The people, therefore, under conſideration, muſt have agreed in their religion, form of government, cuſtoms, manners, language, arts, and learning, with the Phœnicians, who were one of the moſt famous nations in the Eaſt. They muſt likewiſe have derived many religious and civil inſtitutions, cuſtoms, and arts, from Egypt; ſo that it is no wonder the learned, of late [u], ſhould have diſcovered ſuch an agreement, in many points, between the Etruſcans and the Egyptians.

Their firſt form of government.

That the Philiſtines, like all the other eaſtern nations, were, at firſt, under the domination of one prince, we learn from the ſacred hiſtorian [w]. Their government was perfectly monarchical when Abraham and Iſaac ſojourned amongſt them. When the firſt Pelaſgi ſettlement in Etruria therefore happened, the conſtitution introduced into

[r] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 5. Draco Corcyræus apud Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. xvi. [s] Plut. Problem. Roman. [t] Valer. Maxim. lib. ii. cap. 4. [u] Phil. Bonar. ad Monum. Etruſc. Oper. Dempſt. Addit. Explic. & Conject.; ſect. xvii. p. 103—106. Florentiæ, 1726. Anton. Franc. Gor. Muſ. Etruſc. paſſ. Florentiæ, 1737. [w] Gen. xx. 26.

Italy by Janus still prevailed: but soon after the arrival of the Lydian colony under the conduct of Tyrsenus, this received a very considerable alteration, as we learn from Strabo [x].

The Pelasgi migrate from Æmonia into Italy.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us, that after the expulsion of the Pelasgi out of Æmonia by Deucalion, the greatest part of the Pelasgi went to their old kindred about Dodona, who enjoyed peace, because they were protected from the calamities of war by the temple there: but, afterwards, finding the country too small for them, they were admonished by the oracle to retire to Italy. They therefore equipped a fleet, with an intention to land at the next port of Italy; but were, by stress of weather, forced up the Adriatic, till they came to one of the mouths of the Po called Spines. Some of them remained here, and built a city, which they denominated Spina; but others advanced farther, and penetrated into the inland parts of Italy. Those left at Spina fortified themselves, got great supplies of provisions by sea in a short time, became masters of the Adriatic, and long possessed the sovereignty of that sea [y].

They join the Umbri against the Siculi.

The Pelasgi, though expelled Æmonia, were not obliged totally to abandon Greece in the reign of Deucalion: they remained in several parts of this country, and the adjacent islands, long after the death of that prince. The Pelasgi, who left their brethren at Spina, first advanced to Reate, where they entered into an alliance with the Aborigines against the Umbri. This was followed by an irruption into Umbria. The first place taken by the allies was Croton, or Cortona, a fortress of great strength, which they carried by assault; but their success was, in a good measure, owing to surprize. Croton being extremely well fortified, the Pelasgi and Aborigines formed their principal magazine there, and made it a place of arms. They also reduced many other Umbrian towns. Some time after they undertook an expedition against the Siculi, seized upon several of their towns, and, at last, forced them to retire to Sicily [z].

Most of them return to Greece.

Many years must have elapsed between the first junction of the Æmonian Pelasgi with the Aborigines, and the retreat of the Siculi; for, according to Hellanicus Lesbius, that retreat happened about three generations before the Trojan war. And Philistus of Syracuse [a], a writer of good authority, makes it about eighty years older than that war.

x Strabo, lib. v. Vide etiam Franc. Marian. ubi supra, p. 185.
y Dion. Halic. Antiq. Roman. lib. i. z Idem, ibid. a Philist. Syracus. apud Dion. Halic. ubi supra. Antiq. Rom. lib. i.

The

The Æmonian Pelasgi had a large extent of ground granted them by the Aborigines, for the important services they had rendered them in the preceding wars. The Aborigines also adopted many of the Pelasgic customs and religious ceremonies. As for the Æmonian Pelasgi, they did not long remain in a flourishing situation; for if any credit may be given to Myrsilus [k] Lesbius, about two generations before the Trojan war, the country they inhabited was so parched by an immoderate drought, that it produced scarce any thing for the sustenance either of man or beast. In consequence of which the fountains, springs, and rivers being in a manner dried up, a great mortality ensued; nor had animals of any kind strength to bring forth their young. In short, not being able to bear up against the infection of the air, occasioned by the excessive heats, and divers other calamities with which they were afflicted, they, for the most part, returned to Greece. Here they retained the name of Tyrseni, or rather Tyrsenian Pelasgi, which they had gained by being in the neighbourhood of that nation, if not intermixed with part of them, during their stay in Italy [l].

However, some of the Æmonian Pelasgi remained in Etruria till very near the commencement of the Trojan war; and Dionysius Halicarnassensis seems to intimate, that their posterity continued in possession of Cortona, the ancient Croton, almost to his time. This branch of the Pelasgi spoke a dialect of the old Pelasgic tongue, something different from that used by the Tyrseni in the days of Herodotus. Nor can any thing more than this be inferred from the passages of Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Herodotus [m], now before us; for as the Æmonian Pelasgi and the Tyrsenians were originally branches of the same nation, and had in the first ages the same language, we cannot suppose their tongues to have been much different even in the age of Herodotus. The Pelasgi of Cortona had all along, probably, kept themselves more unmixed with strangers than their neighbours. And this might have been the reason why their language, in the main, was preserved more pure and inviolate. We say, more unmixed with strangers than their neighbours; since the Etruscans in general had had an intercourse for some ages with the Romans and Helenical Greeks, when Herodotus wrote [n] his history. Nor can it be doubted but that such an intercourse must have greatly contributed to a depravation and corruption, or a least an

Some remain in Etruria.

[k] Myrsilus Lesbius apud Dion. Halicar. ibid. [l] Dion. Halicar. Antiquit. Rom lib. i. [m] Herodot. in Clio. Dion. Halicar. ubi supra. [n] Dion. Halicar. Liv. aliique script. antiq. pass.

alteration

alteration of their primitive language. The Etruscan inscriptions of the Herodotean age, of which several are still extant, put this point beyond dispute.

The Etruscans were a maritime power before the Greeks.

That the Etruscans were a maritime power in the time of the Argonauts, we find intimated by Possis [o] Magnesius; for that writer mentions a bloody engagement between them and the Argonauts, when the god Glaucus appeared in order to animate Jason. This engagement probably happened in the Adriatic, not far from Tergeste, the Trieste of the moderns; indeed, that Jason passed by that place, may be inferred from [p] Pliny and Strabo. This notion seems likewise to be countenanced by Valerius Flaccus [q]. From these authors it appears, that the Etruscans demanded respect on the watery element a generation before the Trojan war, much earlier, according to [r] Aristides, and made a figure at sea before the Greeks.

The Latin kings descended from the Etruscans.

Now we approach so near the commencement of the Trojan war, it may not be improper to insert what we find related of Anius, an ancient king of the Tuscans, by [s] Alexander Polyhistor and Aristides Milesius. That prince, according to these authors, had a beautiful daughter, whose name was Salia, with whom one Cathetus, an Etruscan nobleman, fell desperately in love. The lady, in all probability, had no dislike to Cathetus, as she gave him an opportunity of carrying her off. Anius pursued the fugitives; but not being able to come up with them, he threw himself into a river, which from him was afterwards called the Anio. Cathetus had by Salia two sons, Latinus and Salius, the heads of two most noble families. This fragment of history is the more remarkable, as it clearly evinces king Latinus to have been of Etruscan extraction.

The Etruscans take possession of the cities abandoned by the Æmonian Pelasgi.

According to [t] Myrsilus Lesbius, the greatest part of the Æmonian Pelasgi left their habitations in Italy, about two generations before the Trojan war, and retired into Greece. The Tyrsenians, with some of whom the Æmonian Pelasgi seem to have been intermixed, reaped considerable advantage from their departure; for they possessed themselves of the cities and towns the Pelasgi had abandoned, and remained masters of them till they were obliged to submit to the Roman yoke. They probably made a considerable figure during the interval between this period and the con-

[o] Possis Magnesius apud Athen. Deipnos. lib. vii. [p] Plin. lib. iii. cap. 18. Strab. lib. i. [q] M. Val. Flac. Argonaut. lib. iv. Vide etiam Dempst. ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 9. p. 32, 33. [r] Aristid. Orat. in Bacch. [s] Alex Polyhist. & Arist. Miles. apud Plut. in Parallel. p. 315. Lutet. Paris. 1624. [t] Myrsilus Lesbius, apud Dion. Halicar. ubi supra.

clusion

clusion of the Trojan war, though we find little said of them in ancient history.

Mezentius, king of Etruria, being alarmed at Æneas's arrival in Italy, entered into a league with the Rutuli against that prince. He beheld, with a jealous eye, the numerous settlements made in Italy by colonies from the eastern nations, and the incroachments they were about to make upon the lands of the most ancient inhabitants. In pursuance, therefore, of his engagements, he took the field with a powerful army; but finding no enemy to oppose him, he marched towards Lavinium, then the residence of Æneas and his queen, with an intention either to besiege it, or draw the king of Latium to a general action. Æneas, at the head of the Latin and Trojan forces, marching out of the town, gave Mezentius battle in the neighbourhood of Lavinium. Both sides behaved with great bravery, and night alone put a stop to their obstinate fury. However, Mezentius seems to have had the advantage; for Æneas being pushed to the banks of the Numicius,[1] was drowned in that river. *Mezentius joins the Rutuli against the Trojans and Latins.*

Mezentius, after the late action, drew near with his army to Lavinium, and fortified himself at a small distance from it. This seems to have terrified the young king of Latium, who, according to Livy, was not fourteen years of age; for, upon so near an approach, he made overtures to Mezentius for an accommodation. Mezentius, elevated by his late success, prescribed to the Latins the severest conditions; and, amongst other things, demanded of them all the wine produced every year in the territory of Latium. This demand so incensed the Latins, that neither they, nor their posterity, ever forgave him. They reproached him as a contemner of the gods, and offered their wine to Jupiter. Although a body of Etruscans, under the command of his son Lausus, were entrenched close to the gates of Lavinium, Eurileon, the successor of Æneas, broke off the negociation, and made all the necessary dispositions for vigorously carrying on the war. *Ascanius makes overtures to Mezentius.*

Eurileon, surnamed Ascanius, having rejected the conditions prescribed by Mezentius, assembled a considerable army in order to attack the Etruscans. His first view was to dislodge Lausus from the post he had occupied, the vicinity of this prince to Lavinium threatening the Latins with immediate destruction. Lausus having more courage than precaution, had not taken care to secure himself against a surprize. *Ascanius continues the war, and concludes a peace with Mezentius.*

[1] Dion. Hal. ubi supra, p. 52. Liv. ubi supra. cap. 3.

prize[y]. The Latins, therefore, falling upon him in the night, after an obstinate dispute, forced his entrenchments, and this attack put the whole Etruscan army into disorder. As Lausus was killed in the action, and probably by his own men, the confusion into which they were thrown, and the obscurity of the night, rendering them incapable of distinguishing between friends and foes, the loss sustained on this occasion was very considerable to the Etruscans. The Latins, likewise, next morning, presented themselves before a little hill, whither Mezentius, with a body of troops he had rallied, thought proper to retire, and there he was closely invested. Thus beset, the Etruscan monarch, who was greatly dejected by the untimely death of Lausus, concluded a peace with Ascanius, and the principal article of this treaty was, that the Tiber should be the common boundary of Etruria and Latium. Livy informs us, that the ancient name of the Tiber was Albula, and that it was so called at the conclusion of this treaty; but we cannot help thinking, with Servius[z], that Tiber was the primitive name.

A chasm in the Etruscan history.

From the death of Æneas to the birth of Romulus, history is profoundly silent as to Tuscan affairs; but as it cannot in the least be doubted that the Etruscans had good historians, and even pontifical annals, since the Romans[a] received the custom of keeping such annals from that people, such a chasm is not to be imputed to them, but to the Romans. That haughty nation destroyed all monuments, as far as in them lay, that evidenced the brave and upright behaviour of the nations they had enslaved, as well as their own opposite conduct.

The Etruscans, a great nation in the time of Romulus.

That the Etruscans were a powerful and polite nation when Romulus founded, or rather restored Rome, appears from some good authors. That prince could not carry the design he had formed into execution, without the assistance of the Etruscans. From thence he derived all his civil and religious institutions[b]. Cæle[c] Vibenna, a Tuscan general, led a body of Tuscan troops under his command to Rome. Romulus, upon his arrival, either out of policy, or for want of room, placed him upon a hill near the city, which had then no name; but ever since has been called the Hill Cælius.

y Dion. Hal. ubi supra, p. 52. Liv. ubi supra, cap. 3.
z Serv. ad Æn. lib. viii. Vide etiam Dempst. ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 17. p. 149.
a Just. Fontan. de Antiquit. Hort. lib. i. cap. 7 p. 133—137. Romæ, 1723.
b Alcim. Vetustiss. Histor. & Cuman. Histor. aut apud Fest. Plut. in Romul.
c Dempst. Scip. Maff. Franc. Marian. Anton. Franc. Gor. aliique script. pass.

When

When the Sabines made preparations to attack the Romans for the rape of their daughters, an Etruscan lucumo marched with a body of troops to assist the latter. The Romans and Etruscans, at the approach of the Sabines, divided their forces into two bodies. Romulus, with the former, took possession of the hill Esquilinus, and the lucumo with his troops, posted himself on the hill since called Quirinalis. They came at last to a general action with the Sabines. Romulus commanded the right wing, and the lucumo the left. Both generals behaved with great bravery, and repulsed the Sabines; but Romulus being wounded, fell down senseless, and whilst his men were carrying him into the city, the Sabines recovered their courage, took advantage of his absence, and fell with fury upon the right wing of the Romans, which had lost its commander. The lucumo, in the mean time, did more than make a brave resistance; he penetrated into the Sabine legions, till, at length, being pierced with a javelin, he died upon the spot. In fine, he kept the enemy in play till Romulus recovered himself and rallied his troops; some time after which the Sabines were driven back to the Capitol. So that the preservation of Rome, in its infancy, as well as the foundation of it, may, in a great measure be ascribed to the Etruscans. *An Etruscan lucumo assists Romulus.*

As to the remaining historical transactions of the Etruscans, they are comprehended in our history of the Romans, to which we refer the reader. The following is a list of Etruscan kings mentioned by the ancients.

List of Etruscan Kings mentioned by the Ancients.

Janus.	Tyrhenus.
Cameses, sister and wife to Janus.	Rasena.
	Alæsus.
Tiberinus, succeeded his father Janus.	Tarchon.
	Felsinus.
Aunus.	Ocnus, or Hocnus.
Coritus.	Mezentius.
Fontus.	Asylas.
Annius.	Abas.
Deheberis, or Tiberis.	Massicus.
Æolus.	Osinius.
Liparus.	Morrius.
Meleus.	Clusius.
Rhætus.	Propertius.
Malæottus.	Veientus.

Cæle Vibenna.
Menalus.
Olenus Calenus.
Porsena, or Porsenna.
Tolumnius, or, according to some, Volumnius.
Cilnius.
Mecænas.

The ages in which all these princes lived, the numbers of years they reigned, or the extent of the territories over which they presided, we cannot take upon us to determine.

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